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AUTHOR Roberts, Thomas B.; Hruby, Paula Jo
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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the roles that "entheogens" have played in religions from early shaman times to contemporary indigenous and syncretic practices. The word "entheogen" was coined to denote pschyoactive chemicals and botanicals which engender the experience of God within (Ott, 1993). Part 1 of the paper points to three background changes that provide a more supportive climate for investigating entheogens than has occurred for many years. Part 2 discusses entheogens' possible contributions to religious and educational research. Part 3 describes provocative pilot studies and research questions which can guide additional research. Some of these topics are: the nature of the human mind; pastoral counseling; experimental mysticism; and the dispute over drug-assisted primary religious experience. Contains 95 references. (EH)

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Entheogens— Return of the Ostracized

Thomas B. Roberts, Ph.D. (troberts@niu.edu)

Paula Jo Hruby, M.S.Ed. (phruby@niu.edu)

Northern Illinois University

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Children of a future age,
Reading this indignant page,
Know that in a former time
A path to God was thought a crime.

(adapted from William Blake)

Presented at the American Educational Research Association

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Ought it to be assumed that in all men the mixture of religion with other elements should be identical? Ought it, indeed, to be assumed that the lives of all men should show identical religious elements? In other words, is the existence of so many religious types and sects and creeds regrettable?

To these questions I answer "No" emphatically. And my reason is that I do not see how it is possible that creatures in such different positions and with such different powers as human individuals are, should have exactly the same functions nor should we be expected to work out identical solutions. Each, from his peculiar angle of observation, takes in a certain sphere of fact and trouble, which each must deal with in a unique manner.

William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902
Mentor edition, 1958, page 368

TIMELY NOTES

PBS television stations are now airing a 5-part series on world religions with Bill Moyers interviewing Huston Smith. You may want to suggest that your students, colleagues, and congregants read Smith's writings on entheogens. These are listed in our bibliography.

On Wednesday, April 10th, Tom Roberts, one of the coauthors of this paper, will be giving a lecture *Psychoactive Sacraments: My Entheogenic Religion* at the Open Society Institute of the Lindesmith Center, 888 Seventh Ave., from 4-6 PM. Enter on 56th or 57th Street. It is free and open to the public, but **be sure to call ahead** to reserve a place since seating is limited: 212-887-0695.

Abstract

The word "entheogen" was coined to denote chemicals and botanicals which engender the experience of god within (Ott, 1993). From the early origins of shamanic religions through contemporary indigenous and syncretic religions, entheogens have played a number of roles. Sometimes they were perceived as sacraments, sometimes as gifts of the gods, sometimes as demonic, sometimes as gods themselves. Summarizing the research, Grinspoon and Bakalar (1979, p. 267) conclude that, "It should not be necessary to supply any more proof that psychedelic drugs produce experiences that those who undergo them regard as religious in the fullest sense." Fascinating and important questions remain to be researched concerning these "plants of the gods." **What research opportunities do entheogens present for educational and religious researchers?**

Part 1 of this paper points to three background changes which provide a more supportive climate for investigating entheogens than has occurred for many years. These are: (1) a multistate paradigm, that is, an intellectual climate that recognizes that human behavior and experience occur in many mindbody states; (2) the growth of psychology to consider whether human nature includes a spiritual aspect, the effects of ego transcendence, and mystical experiences; and (3) within religious communities the growing recognition that, along with the usual foundations of religion—belief, ritual, the written word, and religious organization—primary religious experience forms an additional and essential foundation for religion.

Part 2 exemplifies entheogens' possible contributions to religious and educational research. Examples are drawn from three areas research: (1) *theoretical and conceptual research*, defining concepts such as "transpersonal," "mystical experience," and "unitive mindbody states" while exploring the theoretical connection of humanity's spiritual aspect with mystical or intense religious mindbody states; (2) *empirical research*, describing previous research using psychoactive substances for entheogenic or therapeutic purposes; (3) *current research study*, correlational studies reporting on people who currently use entheogens for primary religious experiences using the *Mysticism Scale* (Hood, 1975).

Part 3 presents some provocative pilot studies, and research questions which can guide additional research. Topics are: (1) the nature of the human mind, (2) pastoral counseling, (3) experimental mysticism, (4) the dispute over the authenticity of drug-assisted primary religious experience, (5) entheogenic origins of religion, and (6) policy issues. Finally, part 3 makes recommendations for an entheogen-based research agenda.

Entheogens—Return of the Ostracized

> The decisive question in the human being's life is this, am I related to something infinite or not? – C. G. Jung

Introduction

Humans are not only physical, mental, and emotional beings but also spiritual ones. This spiritual aspect is innate to humankind according to Assagioli (1965), Fowler (1991), Grof (1992), Maslow (1968), Jung (1958, 1973), Walsh and Vaughan (1993), Wilber (1995), and the world's major religious traditions (Smith, 1958, 1992). Whereas this spiritual aspect is natural, actualizing it is not universal, albeit the potential exists (Greeley, 1974; James, 1982; Maslow, 1968; Stace, 1961). Experiencing intense religious or mystical phenomena often increases the individual's awareness of an underlying unity with others, nature, life, God, Goddess, the One, or Ultimate Reality. This unity exists beyond the finite boundaries of the physical human body (Assagioli, 1965; Steindl-Rast, in press).

In this paper we will discuss entheogens, psychoactive plants and chemicals used religiously (Lucas, 1995; Ruck, Bigwood, Staples, Ott, & Wasson, 1979). Common entheogens are peyote, LSD, psychoactive mushrooms, ayahuasca, marijuana, and a host of other synthetic and natural compounds. While these substances may also be used for other purposes, it is their spiritual use that qualifies them as entheogens. Apparently the entheogen-based spiritual quest is making a return to Western religion after being exiled for many years.

Part 1 of this paper describes some ongoing background changes in the intellectual climate, psychology, and religion: these provide a nurturing context which fosters the return of entheogens. Part 2 describes a study of mystical experience among university students and attendees at a religious conference-retreat about entheogens. Part 3 presents leads to future research.

Part 1—Contextual Shifts

Beginning in the late 1950s and continuing today, we see three broad background shifts that facilitate the return of entheogens; all of these are changes in the general intellectual background, psychology, and religion.

Intellectual Context

In contrast to two or three decades ago, there is increasing recognition in today's intellectual environment that humans produce and use many *mindbody states* in addition to our ordinary awake state (Murphy, 1992; Roberts, 1989). Most everyone is familiar with the ordinary awake state of consciousness, the sleeping state, and the dreaming state. Each state of consciousness differs distinctly from another; for example, sleeping discretely varies from the normal awake state and from the state of intoxication. Other labels have been applied to these discrete states of consciousness such as psychophysiological states and mindbody states (Roberts, 1989). Instead of using *state of consciousness*, we have chosen to use the more descriptive phrase *mindbody state* to emphasize the interconnection between

the mind (psychological) and body (physiological).The ideas that all worthwhile abilities occur only in our ordinary awake state and its correlate, that other states are useless and/or harmful, are increasingly recognized as erroneous assumptions that interfere with science and restrict scholarship; Roberts and Hruby (1996) name this the "Singlestate Fallacy."

In the 1950s and 1960s altered states were less acceptable as topics of intellectual inquiry, but with their acceptance has come the recognition that a complete psychology must include observations of psychological processes in all states, not just our ordinary state. "The most important obligation of any science is that its descriptive and theoretical language embrace *all* the phenomena of its subject matter; the data from [altered states of consciousness] cannot be ignored if we are to develop a comprehensive psychology" (Tart, 1960, p. 6). The same principle applies equally to education and religion as well as to psychology.

Today psychotechnologies for achieving a greater range of mindbody states such as meditation, dreams, hypnosis, imagery, sensory isolation and overload, some prayer and spiritual routines, biofeedback, yoga, the martial arts, and so forth are ground breaking topics for scholarly and intellectual study. Many, if not most, introductory textbooks in psychology feature chapters or sections on altered states of consciousness. While a climate of openness to a multistate model of human nature is by no means universal, the singlestate proponents are dying and retiring as Kuhn (1962) describes. The increasing acceptance of the multistate paradigm by the younger replacements places entheogens (as another method for changing mindbody states) in a friendlier climate of ideas.

Psychological Context

Within psychology a number of related topics has emerged. Ego-transcendence (*Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, 1969+) has opened questions which have to do with experiences that entheogens often, but not always, provide. Does human nature include a natural desire to transcend the ego? In his later writings, Maslow (1967, 1968) describes ego-transcendence as a stage "beyond self-actualization." In *Religions, Values and Peak Experiences* (1964, p. xiv) he specifically refers to the LSD-assisted work of Grof. Jungian psychology (Jung, 1958, 1973) particularly the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Myers, 1987), even though it is not oriented toward transcendence, has directed the attention of many people toward Jung's psychology with its emphasis on the collective unconscious and archetypes. Entheogens often put one in touch with archetypical experiences. In both theoretical and empirical articles (e.g., Lukoff & Lu, 1988) *The Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* (1969+) chronicles much of the pioneering research on mindbody experiences and psychotechnologies, including meditation, psychedelics, mystical experiences, egoless experiences, and psychotechnologies for achieving these states.

Religious Context

In the past few years several events have occurred which may indicate that entheogens are being seriously reconsidered within segments of the American religious community and government. These events include, among others, :

- the growth of Pentacostalism with its emphasis on religious experience as more fundamental than belief, church organization, or established ritual (Cox, 1993);

- the disenchantment of many people, especially young people, with some traditional religions whose legitimacy is based on dogmatic beliefs, the written word, unfulfilling ritual, and religious organization. "Where are religious experiences?" they ask;

- the Chicago Theological Seminary cosponsored an entheogenically oriented conference, *Psychoactive Sacraments*,which is anticipated to be the first of a series of such conference-retreats;

- publication of a book which reviews the entheogenic literature during the past four decades, *Religion and Psychoactive Sacraments: A Bibliographic Guide* (Roberts & Hruby, 1995);

- the passage of the *Religious Freedom Restoration Act* and the *Native American Freedom of Religion Act* by Congress (also see Aberle 1991);

- the growth of American and immigrant religions which use entheogens;

- interest in Eastern and experience-based religions;

- rave masses and services [raves usually involve the use of the psychoactive substance MDMA also know as ecstasy, "E" or Adam which is described as an empathogen (Adamson, 1985) or entactogen, "touching the self within," (Shulgin, 1995)];

- the founding of the Council on Spiritual Practices, San Francisco (1994+).

A growing distinction is being made between religious uses of psychoactive plants and chemicals such as that by the Native American Church (Aberle, 1991) and their secular uses (*The Entheogen Law Reporter*, 1993+; Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies, 1990+). Distinctions are being made on the basis of spiritual intent (Jesse, 1995), liturgical use within ecclesiastical settings (Lucas, 1995), substances used (those promoting mystical states and which are non-addictive), and preferred outcomes (mystical, sacred, and/or primary religious experience). Ongoing research on the Uniao do Vegetal Church (McKenna & Grob, 1994), one of two contemporary Brazilian religions which use ayahuasca, may point the way to similar religious practices and research in the United States.

One of Pahnke's (1964) subjects in the entheogen-based Good Friday Experiment (see below), Rev. Mike Young, currently a Unitarian-Universalist Minister, poses entheogen-based questions which combine pastoral and theological concerns and raise topics which entheogen researchers need to address (Young, 1995):

- Here are some drugs that reshape and reframe our meaning-making in ways that we religious leaders have always said were good. How could that be naughty? (p. 37)

- How will we respond to our own followers telling us that the drug experience is religious experience, that our faith boundaries are fluid, if not passé? (p. 38)

- How do we learn to most usefully and effectively evoke the set and create the setting for non-particularistic religious experience? (p. 38)

The expansion of intellectual context to accept a multistate paradigm, the growth of psychology to study all mindbody states and ways of achieving them, the expansion of religion to recognize the importance of primary religious experience, and the expansion of experience-based religions—together these chronicle a shifting social climate that is hospitable to entheogens.

Part 2—The Varieties of Mystical Experience: Theory and Research

Entheogens, psychoactive plants and substances used for spiritual/religious purposes, have been employed for centuries by shamans and indigenous peoples as a kind of "skeleton key" (Richard, 1975) to unlock the door to the *other* world, the spiritual or transcendent realm (Furst, 1972; Samorini, 1995; Schultes & Hofmann, 1992; Walsh, 1990). This part of the paper has three purposes: (1) to explore the theoretical and conceptual connection of humanity's spiritual aspect with mystical mindbody states; (2) to present empirical research of psychoactive substances used spiritually or therapeutically; and (3) to report the results of a recent research study of individuals who currently use entheogens by examining their experience of mystical phenomena through the use of the Mysticism Scale (Hood, 1975).

Theoretical and Conceptual Research

Transpersonal Experiences. "*Transpersonal experiences* may be defined as experiences in which the sense of identity or self extends beyond (*trans*) the individual or personal to encompass wider aspects of humankind, life, psyche, and cosmos" (Walsh & Vaughan, 1993, p. 3). Therefore, mystical, peak, ecstatic, numinous, transcendent, intense spiritual, and primary religious experiences can be viewed as one group of similar transpersonal experiences. These numerous terms, although not identical, overlap in their definitions and share some of the same characteristics or qualities. Specifically, they all express an underlying sense of unity or experience of oneness (James, 1982; Pahnke, 1963; Stace, 1961).

These unitive experiences or unitive mindbody states might be considered the most intense subset of transpersonal experiences since they not only expand the boundaries of the ego to include wider aspects of life but also dissolve these boundaries in such a way as to momentarily connect with Supreme Reality. Grof (1975), besides defining transpersonal experiences as going beyond the usual ego boundaries, adds an alteration in the usual sense of time and/or space. Meditative, shamanic, contemplative, and entheogenic mindbody states, to name a few, are other groups of transpersonal experiences which may or may not lead to mystical or primary religious experience.

Maslow discovered the transpersonal realm when he was studying self-actualized individuals, that is, individuals who seemed to have reached their potential (Maslow, 1964, 1968; Roberts, 1978). Maslow found that many of these self-actualizers had what he labeled "peak" experiences which connected the percipient to what he termed the "transhuman" or "transpersonal" realm of existence. He equated peak experiences to "secularized religious or mystical or transcendent experiences" (1964, p. xii).

> Since the term "peak experience" was coined by Maslow, it has been employed in various contexts both *generally*, encompassing the entire range of exceptionally meaningful human experiences, and *specifically*, delineating a transcendental form of consciousness, the hallmark of which is unity. (Richards, et al., 1977, p. 1)

As in the research study by Richards et al. (1977), this paper deals exclusively with the latter definition of "peak experience." Mystical or primary religious experiences which have been posited to be the inspirational source for creating ritual, developing beliefs, and obligating action–the foundations of traditional religions (Campbell, 1988; Maslow, 1964; Steindl-Rast (in press).

Mystical Mindbody States. Peak experiences are similar to the mystical experiences described in the some of the classic works on mysticism, Bucke's (1961) *Cosmic Consciousness*, originally written in 1901, James' (1982)*Varieties of Religious Experience*, originally written in 1902, Stace's (1961) *Mysticism and Philosophy*, and Underhill's (1930) *Mysticism*. Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) description of "flow" Greeley's (1974) ecstatic experience, and the integral level of Masters and Houston (1966) are also descriptions of transcendent mystical experiences. Maslow (1964; 1968) preferred the term "peak" over "mystical" in order to prevent any confusion with the various connotations of "religious." Hood (1974) explains that intense religious experiences are commonly labeled "mystical," "peak," or "ecstatic."

Stace (1961) examined the written accounts of mystical experiences of Eastern and Western religious and philosophical traditions across the centuries and categorized the phenomenological characteristics of what he termed *extrovertive* and *introvertive* [sic] mystical experiences. The basic difference between the *extrovertive* and *introvertive* mystical experience lies in the type of unity that is experienced. Extrovertive mystical unity focuses on an outward type of unity in which the One is seen shining through the multiplicity of the world. The two characteristics of extrovertive unity are the Unifying Vision where all things are seen as One and the more concrete apprehension of the One as an inner subjectivity or a sense that life is present in all things.

The introvertive mystical experience is inner directed awareness or as Stace labels it "consciousness" in which the multiplicity has been transcended. He explains that this type of unity is more deeply rewarding and, in a sense, a more full or real mystical experience because it also transcends time and space. The two characteristics of introvertive unity are the Unitary Consciousness, pure consciousness of the One or the Void.

Stace also delineates five characteristics which are common to both the extrovertive and introvertive mystical experience. These are: (1) sense of objective reality, a noetic knowing, as James (1982) termed it; (2) deep feelings of blessedness, peace, joy, etc.; (3) feelings of the holy, sacred, or divine; (4) paradoxicality, the experience of the simultaneous truth of polar opposites; and (5) the alleged ineffability of these experiences by the mystics themselves. See Table 1 which outlines the separate and similar characteristics of Stace's extrovertive and introvertive mystical experiences. Other researchers also see the unity experience as the hallmark of mystical experience and use the terms *internal* and *external* unity rather than Stace's *introvertive* and *extrovertive* (Pahnke, 1963; Richards, 1975; Richards et al., 1977).

Insert Table 1 About Here

In addition to Stace, the writings of other philosophers, psychologists, and researchers

such as Bucke (1961), James (1982), and Underhill (1930) have been used as springboards for empirically assessing mystical phenomena (Hood, 1974, 1975; Pahnke, 1969; Richards et al., 1977). Using Stace's (1961) work, Hood (1975) developed the Mysticism Scale (M Scale), a self-report of past experiences of mystical phenomena, which is the most commonly used instrument for assessing mystical experience (Doblin, 1990; Hood, Morris, & Watson, 1993; Lukoff & Lu, 1988). The M Scale is discussed and presented in detail in the current research section (Hruby, 1996).

These phenomenological experiences of mysticism are associated with a wide range of triggers or antecedents such as attending religious services, chanting, childbirth, dreaming, drumming, entheogens, fasting, guided imagery, psychoactive substances, meditation, near-death experiences, contemplative prayer, relaxation techniques, sensory deprivation, sexual lovemaking, and various physical routines such as regulated breathing, yoga, aikido, and dancing (Greeley, 1974; Maslow, 1964; Noble, 1987).

This long list of triggers suggests that there are many experiences, practices, spiritual or otherwise, that seem to catalyze mystical experiences. Sometimes mystical experiences seem to occur "out of the blue" as if *something extra* happens one particular time while watching a sunset or meditating. This extra something has been conceptualized as a force or energy, and sometimes referred to as *grace*, that exists beyond the individual's personal ego boundaries (Greeley, 1974; Smith, 1992; Zaehner, 1961).

Adjunctive methods are often used to aid shifting from one mindbody state to another such as chanting, drumming, ecstatic dancing, administration of psychoactive substances, and meditative or yogic practices (McKenna, 1992). Entheogens have been used for thousands of years to alter mindbody states (Wasson, 1968). Maslow (1968) suggests that psychedelics might be used in the right settings and with the right people to enhance the possibility of such an occurrence rather than wait for it to occur naturally.

Previous Empirical Research

There is only room for the consideration of a few studies in this section of Part 2. Pahnke's study in experimental mysticism is presented in detail since it is referred to throughout this paper and is regarded as a classic in the scientific study of psychedelics. Other studies are mentioned and examined in varying degree; all are presented because of their relevance to our discussion of entheogens.

Pahnke's Good Friday Experiment. On Good Friday in 1962 Pahnke (1963, 1969) conducted a double-blind experiment: (1) to gather empirical data about the altered state of consciousness experience with psychedelic drugs in a religious setting, and (2) to compare these data with the nine categories of a mystical mindbody state formulated from the work of Stace (1961) and others. The nine categories that Pahnke delineated were: (1) Unity, the hallmark of mystical consciousness, both internal and external unity; (2) Transcendence of Space and Time; (3) Deeply-Felt Positive Mood; (4) Sense of a Sacredness; (5) Objectivity and Reality, similar to James' "noetic quality;" (6) Paradoxicality; (7) Alleged Ineffability; (8) Transiency, the duration of a mystical mindbody state is finite, lasting anywhere from a few seconds to a maximum of a few hours. This is the important difference between mystical states and psychosis; and (9) Positive Changes in Attitude and/or Behavior.

The volunteer subjects were 20 volunteer, middle-class, Christian theological students who were screened extensively. Half of the subjects received 30 mg of psilocybin before the Good Friday service began, the other half received a placebo. All the subjects and group leaders were in a lounge in a chapel with a loud speaker that piped in the Good Friday service which consisted of prayers, organ music, solos, and personal meditation which lasted for 2.5 hours. Pahnke designed the experiment to be meaningful and familiar to the participants. He tried to create an atmosphere similar to the atmosphere achieved by tribes who use natural psychedelic substances in religious ceremonies.

Both shortly after the experiment and then 6 months later, the subjects were asked to write a description of their experience, answer a questionnaire, and participate in an interview. Statistical analysis of these data indicated that the psilocybin subjects had a significantly more intense experience than the controls in 8 of the 9 categories of the mystical typology in all methods of measurement. The only category which less clearly differentiated the two groups was *Sense of Sacredness*.

Since the set and setting were the same in the experiment for both groups, the drug was concluded to be the facilitating factor in the difference between the psilocybin subjects and the controls. Eight of the 10 psilocybin subjects described the experienced as profoundly impacting them which caused them to contemplate the experience, rethink their life philosophies and values, and integrate what they learned.

Doblin's 25 year follow-up of the Good Friday Experiment. In his article, Doblin (1992) does a follow-up study with the original participants of Pahnke's Good Friday Experiment in addition to a methodological critique. After a great deal of effort, Doblin was able to locate 16 of the original 20 subjects and to interview them along with administering the original 100-item questionnaire from the experiment 25 years previously. Nine from the control group were found and seven from the psilocybin group. Of the three absent from the psilocybin subjects, Doblin discovered that one was deceased, one was unable to be identified, and one refused to participate citing concerns over privacy.

> All psilocybin subjects participating in the long-term follow-up, but none of the controls, still considered their original experience to have had genuinely mystical elements and to have made a uniquely valuable contribution to their spiritual lives. The positive changes described by the psilocybin subjects at six months, which in some cases involved basic vocational and value choices and spiritual understandings, had persisted over time and in some cases had deepened. (Doblin, 1992, p. 23)

The most outstanding criticisms Doblin had for the experiment were that Pahnke (1) minimized the psychological struggle and difficulties that a number of the psilocybin subjects had in working through the negative material the psilocybin seemed to activate, and (2) omitted mentioning that one psilocybin subject was administered the tranquilizer thorazine to calm him down because of the fear reaction catalyzed by the psilocybin. Doblin believes that this is probably the subject that refused to be interviewed; and, although such an omission is unjustifiable in the reporting of scientific results, he speculates as to why these occurred, particularly noting the media hype around the topic of psychedelics at the time. Pahnke (1963) explains that this subject did not prepare seriously for the experiment, and he had an attitude that it was only a psychological experiment. At one point the subject described his fear

reactions as "a psychotic episode" but at the six-month follow-up reported that he felt that the persistent negative effects were only "slightly harmful" (p. 232).

Despite the two criticisms mentioned above, Doblin concludes that "the original Good Friday Experiment is one of the preeminent psychedelic experiments in scientific literature" (p. 23). The results of which robustly support the hypothesis that psychedelic drugs can assist in facilitating mystical experiences in individuals with a religious psychological set in a religious setting. We echo Doblin's call to replicate this study under a variety of sets and settings in Part 3 of this paper.

Therapeutic use of DPT with cancer patients. Richards (1975) and Richards et al. (1977) modified Pahnke's original categories of mystical or peak experience from nine to six: (1) Unity, both external and internal; (2) Transcendence of Time and Space; (3) Objectivity and Reality; (4) Deeply-Felt Positive Mood; (5) Sense of a Sacredness; (6) Paradoxicality and Ineffability. Transiency, since it occurs in many mindbody states, was eliminated along with assessing the long term positive effects of the experience. Paradoxicality and Alleged Ineffability were combined into one category and are considered as a single unit.

Richards et al. (1977) explored what the contribution of peak experiences (using Pahnke's criterion as modified above) might be for short-term therapy with cancer patients. DPT, a short-acting psychedelic drug, was used and administered only once with each of 34 subjects. There were three phases of the study: (Phase I) psychotherapy for 3 or 4 weeks with the subject to develop rapport, to address relevant issues and to prepare for the DPT session; (Phase II) consisted of the DPT-assisted therapy session which began and ended with the family therapy; (Phase III) "began on the day immediately following the DPT-assisted therapy session and focused on the process of integrating new insights into the fabric of every day existence" (p. 3). This phase lasted three weeks involving several more hours of therapy.

Fifteen of the subjects were found to have had peak experiences while the other 19 did not. Richards et al. (1977) found that the peakers had significantly higher scores on all six categories of peak experience as compared with the nonpeakers. "Those who had peak experiences impressed the therapists as being most free of psychological distress at the termination of therapy" (p. 8). Specifically, the peakers showed significant gains in two scales on the Personal Orientation Inventory, "Capacity for Intimate Contact" and "Existentiality" in comparison to the nonpeakers. Also see Richards' (1975) dissertation which involved research with cancer patients and their families and Grof and Halifax's (1977) book on psychedelic-assisted psychotherapy with the terminally ill, *The Human Encounter with Death*.

Psychedelic exploration and mystical mindbody states. Grof, a psychiatrist, studied the effects of psychedelics, particularly LSD, on patients in a therapeutic settings (1975, 1985, 1992). His research, spanning four decades, started in Czechoslovakia and then moved to the United States. From information from over five thousand of sessions with his and colleagues' patients, he was able to chart a map of the human unconscious. He discovered that the human unconscious consists of three realms: (1) the biographical or psychodynamic; (2) perinatal or Rankian; and (3) the transpersonal. Grof believes that if a client is given a chance to work through her psychodynamic material that eventually she will come to the transpersonal realm and have transpersonal experiences not dissimilar to peak or mystical

The population with which this paper is particularly concerned is the 42 research participants who reported that they currently engage in the spiritual use of drugs (entheogens). These 42 respondents consist of 31 of 504 (6%) university students and 11 (79%) of the 14 conference participants. Comparisons will be made between the 42 entheogen users and the remaining 476 who do not.

Instrument. Hood's M Scale attempts to assess eight of the nine characteristics delineated by Stace: 1) ego quality, 2) unifying quality, 3) inner subjective quality, 4) temporal/spatial quality, 5) noetic quality, 6) ineffability, 7) positive affect, and 8) religious quality; he doesn't assess paradoxicality. There are 32 items on the scale, four items for each of the eight qualities. Two of which are stated positively and the other two negatively. See Table 2 for the operational definitions and scale items.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Procedures. The M Scale and a questionnaire containing demographic and spiritual/religious questions regarding belief, religious affiliation, spiritual practices, and drug use were administered over a two year period, 1993 to 1995. The data gathered from the M Scale was scored according to Hood's (1975) instructions, and a total was obtained for each respondent (negative items are reversed scored). The lowest score possible is 32 and the highest is 160. Respondents marked a five-point Likert scale (1 = definitely not true, 2 = probably not true, 3 = ?, 4 = probably true, 5 = definitely true) as to how much the item's description applied to their own experience.

M Scale forms were considered incomplete if 25% (8+) or more of the 32 items were left blank and/or had a question mark (?) for a response. Although a "?" was a legitimate answer, we believe that a respondent must have been unclear/unsure regarding the scale, perhaps the item(s) and its/their phraseology and/or her own experience, leave 25% without a more specific response. This definition of incomplete forms eliminated 49 university student respondents from the sample.

Results. This section will present only some of the results regarding entheogen users, for a more full treatment of the data consult Hruby (1996). All analyses were performed using SPSS-X version 4.

Table 3 is a breakdown of the demographic and religious/spiritual items, providing the number and percent of the respondents by their spiritual use of drugs (entheogen users v nonusers). It also gives the results of the Pearson chi-square tests of independence supplying the means and standard deviations where applicable. The 2 (users v. nonusers) x 2 (female v. male) chi-square analysis for Sex was significant, χ^2 (1, N = 518) = 37.70, $p < .000$; more males and fewer females were entheogen users than expected. For the variable Age, too many of the cells had an expected frequency less than 5 so a chi-square was unable to be performed.

mindbody states.

Tart's (1969) classic, *Altered States of Consciousness: A Book of Readings*, is one of the first books that helped focus the scientific community on alternate mindbody states. His (1971) subsequent scientific study of the psychological and subjective experiences of experienced marijuana users while under the drug's influence provided a unique view of the effects of the mild psychedelic marijuana. The extensive questionnaire devised for the study was completed by young California college students (N = 150). Chapter 19, *Spiritual Experiences*, gives data regarding the religiously and spiritually oriented questions. To one of these questions, "*I have spiritual experiences, discrete experiences which have had a powerful, long-term religious effect on me, while stoned*" 25 percent of the anonymous respondents reported a positive response.

> Although not all users who had had spiritual experiences while intoxicated felt this had made getting intoxicated an act of religious significance for them, 22 percent of the users did : "*Getting stoned has acquired a religious significance for me.*" Another 4 percent indicated LSD use, rather than marijuana, had acquired religious significance. (p. 218)

Current Research Study

Some studies of spiritual, transcendent, and/or mystical experiences specifically avoid drug-induced experiences (Campbell, 1983), others accept drug experiences as a possible antecedent (Greeley, 1974; Maslow, 1968), still some studies compare drug experiences with non-drug experiences (Pahnke, 1969), while others only use drug-induced experiences (Masters & Houston, 1966; Richards, 1975; Richards et al., 1977; Tart, 1971). As researchers, instead of avoiding mystical experiences which have been potentially triggered by psychedelics, we have chosen to focus on such experiences by exploring the varieties of mystical experience of those who have used drugs spiritually using demographic information and the scores on the Mysticism Scale.

Subjects. The results reported in this paper are part of a larger study that explores the prevalence and varieties of mystical experience among both undergraduate and graduate students (504, 97%) at a large midwestern university, Northern Illinois University (Hruby, 1996), and the participants (14, 3%) at a small entheogenically oriented conference held in Menlo Park, California. The majority of the university student respondents were enrolled in courses offered through the somewhat conservative College of Education (472, 94%) and the remaining students were enrolled in several art courses (32, 6%). The breakdown by sex of the total 518 respondents was female (372, 72%) and male (146, 28%). The majority (436, 84%) were traditionally aged students, under the age of 25.

Students (57, 11%) enrolled in two educational psychology special topics courses, *Psychedelic Mindview* and *Drug Legalization Research*, were intentionally surveyed to increase the number of respondents who had used psychedelic drugs. These specific courses, offered over the past 17 years by Tom Roberts, typically have attracted students who have had intense psychedelic experiences, or have had friends who have, and are desirous of more concrete and specific information about them. At least one lecture and discussion on mysticism were part of these courses along with a meditation exercise. Readings and class discussions dealt with altered mindbody states.

Insert Table 3 About Here

The 2 (users v. nonusers) x 3 (Agnostic/Atheist v. Traditional v. Nontraditional) chi-square for Religious Affiliation was significant, χ^2 (2, N = 518) = 24.88, p < .000. The Traditional religions category consisted of respondents who marked that they were Catholic, Jewish, or Protestant. The Nontraditionals were respondents who reported that they were Other, had No Affiliation, or were Muslims (3 users and 2 nonusers). More respondents who were Nontraditionals and fewer respondents of Traditional religious affiliation were entheogen users. The Religious/Spiritual Orientation item ("*Indicate your religious/spiritual orientation on the following continuum*)" 2 (users v. nonusers) x 5 (1 = Conservative to 5 = Liberal) chi-square analysis was significant, χ^2 (4, N = 514) = 74.17, p < .000. Entheogen users reported themselves to be more liberal in their religious/spiritual orientation than the nonusers. In fact, not one of the entheogen users considered themselves more conservative than mainstream. The 2 (users v. nonusers) x 4 (1 = Unmeaningful to 4 = Usually very meaningful) chi-square test for Meaningfulness of Religious/Spiritual Practice ("*How meaningful is the usual practice of your religious/spiritual life to you?*") was not significant, although many more entheogen users (17, 41%) found their religious/spiritual life to be *Usually Very Meaningful* than the nonusers (119, 25%).

The total mysticism score was used as the dependent variable in a one-way analysis of variance which compared the independent variable of using drugs spiritually (users v. nonusers). The higher the mysticism score the more likely that mystical phenomena were experienced (Hood, 1975). The mysticism scores were significantly different by spiritual drug use F(1, 518) = 85.58, p < .000. The entheogen users (n = 42) had a mean of 142, a median of 150, and a SD of 18; the range was 81 to 159. In contrast, the nonusers (n = 476) had a mean of 101, a median of 103, and a SD of 28; the scores ranged from 32 to 160.

The respondents answered dichotomously, yes or no, as to whether they currently engaged in a list of ten spiritual activities: Prayer, Meditation, Yoga/Aikido, Special Postures, Breath Control, Fasting, Attending Services, Read Spiritual Writings, Attend Study Groups, and Other. A series of 2 (users v. nonusers) x 2 (yes v. no) chi-square tests were performed, one on each of the ten spiritual activities. Fasting and Attend Study Groups were the only two activities that indicated no difference between the observed and expected frequencies of the two groups.

The chi-square tests for the remaining eight spiritual activities were significant indicating that there was a relationship between the use of entheogens and each spiritual practice: Prayer χ^2 (1, N = 518) = 22.18, p < .000; Meditation χ^2 (1, N = 518) = 53.42, p < .000; Yoga/Aikido χ^2 (1, N = 518) = 42.41, p < .000; Special Postures χ^2 (1, N = 518) = 60.15, p < .000; Breath Control χ^2 (1, N = 518) = 36.18, p < .000; Attending Services χ^2 (1, N = 518) = 19.59, p < .000; Read Spiritual Writings χ^2 (1, N = 518) = 21.81, p < .000; and Other χ^2 (1, N = 513) = 42.35, p < .000. Of these eight spiritual activities only two, Prayer and Attending Services, indicated that the entheogen users had fewer expected in the "yes" category and the nonusers had more than expected. In other words, the entheogen users engaged in Meditation, Yoga/Aikido, Special Postures, Breath Control, Read Spiritual Writings, and

Other activities significantly more than the nonusers but in two of the spiritual activities, Prayer and Attending Services, the reverse was true.

The phi coefficient r_ϕ was calculated for each of the 2 x 2 chi-squares for the spiritual practice items above. The phi coefficient is a measure of relationship between the two variables, use of entheogens and each spiritual practice. It is interpreted exactly like a Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient, that is, the closer to 1, the stronger the correlation. Although the phi coefficients were all significant ($p < .000$), the strength of the relationship only ranged from very low to low: Attending Services $r_\phi = .194$, Prayer $r_\phi = .207$, Read Spiritual Writings $r_\phi = .205$, Breath Control $r_\phi = .264$, Yoga/Aikido $r_\phi = .286$, Other $r_\phi = .287$, Meditation $r_\phi = .321$, and Special Postures $r_\phi = .341$.

Significance of the study. Using an instrument such as the M Scale can aid in understanding the prevalence and varieties of the mystical experience. As was obvious in the theoretical and conceptual research section, there is no one definition for what a mystical or primary religious experience is exactly. In fact, many researchers and scholars regard mystical experiences on a continuum (James, 1982; Maslow, 1964; Pahnke, 1963, 1969; Stace, 1961; Steindl-Rast, in press). The M Scale attempts to assess, by self-report, the phenomena that are at the core of mystical experience.

In his research, Pahnke (1963, 1969) set the criterion for determining whether subjects had a mystical experience if they scored 60 percent or more on the questionnaire created to assess the categories of mystical phenomena. Richards et al. (1977) used a modified version of Pahnke's original questionnaire to assess six categories of mystical phenomena (as discussed above) implementing the same 60 percent criterion. This questionnaire is known as the Psychedelic Experience Questionnaire (PEQ).

Applying this criterion for determining whether a respondents in the current study had a mystical experience or not, 39 (93%) of the entheogen users had a mystical experience (score greater 107); whereas only 209 (44%) of the nonusers could be said to have had a mystical experience. Still, 44 percent for the nonusers, although not a majority, indicates a rather common experience or set of experiences. Research such as this may develop a clearer perception of the "normalness" of such experiences so that a climate of greater openness may be promoted in considering their benefits.

Indeed, the results of our research study indicate that this select group of entheogen users had significantly higher mysticism scores than the nonusers, they had a more liberal spiritual/religious orientation, the majority were male, and did have traditional religious affiliations (Catholic, Jewish, or Protestant). The entheogen users engaged in Meditation, Yoga/Aikido, Special Postures, Breath Control, Read Spiritual Writings, and Other activities significantly more than the nonusers. Examining the relationship between the varieties of mystical experience and various spiritual practices or psychotechnologies, in particular the use of entheogens, may increase knowledge and acceptance of such practices. It may also serve to encourage a more accepting attitude regarding mystical and primary religious experiences themselves thereby further strengthening the paradigm shift in Western culture from a material worldview to a more transpersonal worldview.

Part 3—Toward An Entheogenic Research Agenda

Part 2 illustrated how current research into religious topics is energized from an entheogenic perspective. We illustrated entheogenic approaches to:

- *theoretical and conceptual research*–the invention, refining, and application of concepts, and building typologies while exploring the connection of humanity's spiritual aspect with mystical or primary religious mindbody states;

- *empirical research*–presenting past research with psychoactive substances for entheogenic or therapeutic purposes and bridging these to the current study;

- *current research*–looking at relationships among mystical experiences, demographic factors, entheogen use, and other spiritual practices using Hood's Mysticism Scale.

Going beyond conceptual, descriptive and correlational studies, we'd like to point out some entheogenic leads that deserve additional research. These leads have been organized under six research topics: the nature of the human mind, pastoral counseling, experimental mysticism, the dispute over the authenticity of drug-assisted primary religious experience, entheogenic origins of religion, and policy issues. Together these call for a new direction in research, particularly entheogenic research.

Entheogenic research done to date revolves around several thematic questions. More often than not, these questions are implicit rather than explicit: (1) *what are the relationships among entheogens, mystical experiences, and religion?*, (2) *does the human mind include a spiritual part?*

Nature of the Human Mind

Considering entheogens as magnifiers of psychological processes, what do we learn about our minds, specifically about our minds' spiritual aspects? Is there a natural motivation for self-transcendence? Assagioli (1965), Jung (1968), Maslow (1968), and others cited in the introduction of this paper are among the psychologists who answer "yes" to an inherent spiritual aspect of humanity. Perhaps Grof (1968) expresses the innate spirituality of our minds most strongly:

> The observations from psychedelic therapy and other forms of deep experiential work fully confirm the views of [Assagioli, Jung and Maslow] and suggest an even more radical reformulation of the relationship between the human personality and spirituality. According to the new data, spirituality is an intrinsic property of the psyche that emerges quite spontaneously when the process of self-exploration reaches sufficient depth. Direct experiential confrontation with the perinatal and transpersonal levels of the unconsciousness is always associated with a spontaneous awakening of spirituality that is quite independent of the individual's childhood experiences, religious programming, church affiliation, and even cultural and racial background. The individual who connects with these levels of his or her psyche automatically develops a new world view within which spirituality represents a natural, essential, and absolutely vital element of existence. In my experience, a transformation of this kind has occurred without exception

> in a wide range of individuals, including stubborn atheists, skeptics, cynics, marxist philosophers, and positivistically oriented scientists. (p. 368)

Working from the assumption that we have a spiritual aspect, however it may be conceived, transpersonal psychologists provide a psychology that supports research on religion and religious education (Tart, 1975; *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, 1969+). Entheogens are especially important to transpersonal psychologists, not only because they sometimes stimulate transpersonal experiences, but also because they can provide a research variable or treatment. We now have ways to explore transcendence experimentally.

Our view of the human mind is at stake here–more exactly our view of our minds' spiritual aspects. For if we have a natural motivation to transcend ego-centered awareness (Walsh & Vaughan, 1993), then exploring and developing other mindbody states contributes to this goal because the broader desire to explore mindbody states may be one manifestation of the more specific spiritual quest to explore ego-transcendent states.

Research proposal. We propose that researchers on religion, education, and transpersonal psychology become more informed of each other's work, cooperate on research projects, examine transpersonal models, and use them in secular and religious education. If our minds do contain a spiritual element, then the fullest education would have to include its development, and entheogens are one way to venture into this terrain. We are *not* recommending entheogens for children, but if and when entheogens become legal, graduate students who are entering these fields and have been carefully screened and prepared would no doubt learn from a guided entheogenic session. Then their own experiences would inform their research. In a broader multistate framework, since we are capable of producing and using many mindbody states, educational goals and practices would have to recognize this capacity too (Roberts, 1989; Roberts & Hruby, 1996).

Pastoral Counseling

Can entheogenic experiences and an entheogenic model of our minds help in pastoral counseling? The Grof quotation above indicates that entheogens can be useful in existential crises and helping people find meaning in their lives. If our culture and our churches were able to provide healthy ways of facing these crises and exploring transcendent mindbody states, we might not rely so heavily on unhealthy ways. Some alcohol and drug abuse may be seen in this light, probably not all.

For example, it is well-known that Bill Wilson, founder of Alcoholics Anonymous, thought that we are all "thirsting for spiritual knowledge," and he found that substituting a spiritual viewpoint often worked for alcoholics (Alcoholics Anonymous, 1984). It is less well-known that Bill took LSD under the guidance of philosopher Gerald Heard and spoke very positively about his session and LSD's potential for alcoholics (Alcoholics Anonymous, 1984, Chapter 23). In the following quotation, note the sequence of entheogen, ego transcendence, religious element, and improved life (Alcoholics Anonymous, 1984):

> Bill was enthusiastic about his experience; he felt it helped him eliminate many barriers erected by the self, or ego, that stand in the way of one's direct experience of the cosmos and of God. He thought he might have found something that could make a big difference to the lives of many people who still suffered. (p. 371)

A second promising use of entheogens in pastoral counseling is with dying patients. A major part of the difficulty of facing death is the fear of letting go of the ego. Entheogens can give one a practice session; clients learn this fear is unfounded and that ego transcendence can be spiritually enlightening and emotionally positive. Several studies of entheogens point to their possible use as adjuncts in psychotherapy with the dying (Grof & Halifax, 1977; Pahnke, 1969a; Richards, et al 1972; Richards, 1975). In overlapping studies, these researchers found four common benefits of entheogenic counseling with dying patients: decreased general anxiety, decreased specific anxiety about death, decreased desire for pain killers, and increased communication with family and friends. The last seems especially important. At a time when a dying person most needs the support of loved ones, mutual denial often builds a wall. The patient knows he or she is dying, but wants to spare the family stress, and the family knows the patient is dying, but maintains a brave face in hopes of not discouraging the dying person.

Far from being odd or destructive, exploring transpersonal mindbody states serves ego transcendence. As mentioned in Part 1, mindbody exploration also expands psychology to include all human behavior and experience, not just that of our ordinary state (Tart, 1968, 1975). As mentioned in Part 2, the personal and social benefits of getting in touch with the Spirit within can be considerable (Hruby, 1996; Lukoff & Lu, 1988; Nobel, 1987; Pahnke, 1963; Richards, 1975).

Research proposal. The use of entheogens in the mental health professions is multifold. They can be helpful with specific problems such as alcoholism and facing death. They give a fuller map of the human mind including birth memories and transpersonal experiences, which are often helpful in understanding spiritual crises. Grof's map of the human mind describes levels where religious imagery, archetypes, mythology, symbols and religious experiences occur (Grof, 1975, 1980). In addition to being useful for alcoholism, death counseling, and existential issues, entheogens provide a wider theory of human nature which includes spirituality. Separate from entheogenic experiences, these models should help pastoral and secular counselors understand and work with clients. If and when they become legally available, we recommend entheogenic training for carefully selected religious professionals. Additionally, we think transpersonal views would be valuable in psychology of religion classes. Answering how best to include these in professional curricula, and what are the results of doing so are questions that need research too.

Experimental Mysticism

Using entheogens, is it now possible to give people mystical experiences? If so, what are the outcomes? If you are familiar with entheogenology, you may have noticed that we've appropriated the title "Experimental Mysticism" from the best instance of experimental entheogenic research done to date (Pahnke, 1963; Pahnke & Richards, 1966). Using a double-blind experimental protocol in the "Good Friday Experiment," Pahnke (1963) examined psilocybin-induced religious experiences with twenty divinity students during a Good Friday service. In part 2 we mentioned some of the experimental research that has been done.

A standard argument against entheogen-derived primary religious experiences is that they may provide temporary feelings and thoughts, but have no staying power; however, in his 25-year follow-up of Pahnke's Good Friday Experiment, Doblin (1991) found the opposite

to be true. The original differences between the psilocybin treatment group and the placebo group increased over time, suggesting that the experience had a long-term effect on the behavior and/or cognitions of the treatment group, possibly restructuring their beliefs, feelings, and worldview.

Research proposal. The Good Friday Experiment needs to be replicated with diverse botanical and chemical entheogens, various sets and settings, and subjects with a multiplicity of personality types, religious affiliations and beliefs, and demographic factors. Among other things, researchers should compare the phenomenology of entheogen-stimulated primary religious experience with similar experiences of other origins. Entheogenically oriented and other oriented primary religious experience should also be compared by the interaction of personality types, religious beliefs, etc. More precise descriptions of these experiences will provide empirical evidence so that further discussions can be informed scientifically and theologically. This research would inform the authenticity question also. (See below).

Because this type of religious exploration is censored by the federal government, we hope it's clear we are anticipating the lifting of bans on this mode of the religious quest. If the research cannot be performed here, perhaps it can be facilitated in a foreign country.

Authenticity

Are chemically and/or botanically derived mystical experiences genuine, religiously legitimate? On one side, scholar R. C. Zaehner (1974) claims that while drugs can produce a sense of the holy and a form of nature mysticism, they cannot result in the exclusive love of a personal God. However, other scholars and theologians do not fully share Zaehner's position (Clark, 1969; Cox, 1977; Eliade, 1987; Ellwood, 1994; Fox, 1976; Greeley, 1974; Smart, 1984; Smith, 1977; Toolan, 1987; Wulff, 1991). From their own experiences and based on the reports of others, hundreds of investigators (Roberts & Hruby, 1995) claim that under the right set and setting entheogens can produce genuine religious experience or ones which closely resemble non-entheogen experiences.

An outstanding expert on mysticism who considers entheogen-based mysticism authentic is W. T. Stace, whose work on mysticism (1961) formed the foundation for Hood's *M Scale* and the instrument that Pahnke used in the Good Friday Experiment. When Stace was asked whether the drug experience is similar to the mystical experience, reports Huston Smith (1964, pp. 523-524), Stace answered, "It's not a matter of its being *similar* to mystical experience; it *is* mystical experience."

It's perfectly possible to recognize entheogenic experiences as beneficial without having to give them the status of authentic or unauthentic. We should not let the possibly fruitless authentic/fake debate keep us from using substances which have good effects. To be pragmatic, the results count, not the name we use.

Research proposal. Adequately describing the similarities and differences between authentic and unauthentic mystical experiences would be another benefit from replicating the Good Friday Experiment.

From an educational perspective, the authenticity question takes on a different perspective, especially when it comes to adult religious education, the preparation of clergy,

and their in-service education. Even if one takes the position that entheogens are not genuine triggers, they can still provide worthwhile knowledge. One can learn a great deal from a good approximation, from simulations. Just as kindergartners learn where to walk safely and to cross at crosswalks by following tape on a classroom floor, students of religion may learn a great deal from simulated primary religious experience. Their teachers can instruct them in how entheogenic experiences resemble authentic ones and how they differ. Accurately describing the similarities and differences is an area where research needs to be done.

If one agrees with Stace that entheogen-based mystical experiences are legitimate, clergy and educators have a marvelous new opportunity to teach informed adults about primary religious experience, not just with words but with firsthand, direct experience. A religious education which does not provide them to capable adults is impeding the spiritual quest.

Origins of Religion

What influence, if any, did psychoactive substances have on the origins and development of religion? Eliade (1987), Wasson (1968), Wasson et al (1978), and others speculate that encounters with psychoactive plants were an origin of religions throughout the world. Hinting at a research agenda, Barnard (1963) challenges researchers, "I am willing to prophesy that fifty theo-botanists working for fifty years would make the current theories concerning the origins of much mythology and theology as out-of-date as pre-Copernican astronomy" (p. 586). She and her opinion are in good company. In addition to the clergy and theologians mentioned above, mythologist Joseph Campbell recognized scholarly research on entheogens as making significant contributions to understanding religious symbols and mythology (1982, 1988).

Relying on his own entheogenic experience (reported in Leary, 1968) and on his familiarity with subsequent research, philosopher Huston Smith addressed the issue in 1964 with a key article "Do Drugs Have Religious Import?". To which he answered a qualified "yes." In 1977 he cautioned:

> For though the experiences may be veridical in ways, the goal, it cannot be stressed too often, is not religious experiences; it is the religious life. With respect to the latter, psychedelic "theophanies" can abort a quest as readily as, perhaps more readily than, they can further it. (p. 155)

Since then he has maintained his opinion on the usefulness of entheogens (1988). Used correctly, they can be beneficial adjuncts to spiritual development, but they are not a path by themselves.

Research Proposal. To investigate Barnard's challenge and Wasson's claim, perhaps religious researchers will one day be able to use entheogens as research instruments, pending the end of censorship of this research method. Perhaps a day will come when courses in mysticism in seminaries and philosophy departments of universities will have laboratory sections in which their students can use entheogens as religious instructional technologies. Of course, the lab should be voluntary, and students should be screened physically and mentally beforehand, prepared thoroughly, and guided through the process. Until entheogenic research is re-legalized, professors can familiarize their students with the writings on

mysticism, especially those having to do with entheogens. No doubt Wasson's, Bernard's, and similar writings would provoke active classroom discussions.

Why are these experiences profoundly life-changing for some people and not for others? Are there ways of increasing the likelihood of desirable outcomes and decreasing undesirable ones? How would one go about studying these questions? These and similar questions await researchers' attention.

The professional education of clergy, theologians, church historians, and allied researchers should include a familiarity with existing entheogenic research and the skills of designing research which, hopefully, some day will use entheogens. Who has the right to make these decisions? The control over religious research by governmental agencies and conflicts about religious freedom brings us to a nest of issues which demands attention: policy issues.

Policy Issues: Religious Freedom

What role, if any, should entheogens play in contemporary American religious education, practice, and research? What regulation, if any, is appropriate? The following questions and topics need to be examined: To what extent would Americans like to include entheogens as part of their religious practices? Surveys are needed. With immigration from countries in South America and Asia where entheogens are an established part of religious practices, what policies should American law and religions adopt? Does the movement toward "diversity" include religious diversity, and does freedom of religion include the right to entheogenic sacraments? If a new church wanted to use entheogenic botanicals and chemicals, would governmental policy toward it be different from policy toward an established church? If a seminary wanted to include entheogens in the education of its seminarians or for spiritual renewal of clergy, what church-state issues would arise? Informed answers to these questions require policy research.

Summary Recommendations

We recommend that researchers on religion and religious education, churches, religious orders and groups, ecumenical associations, seminaries and other professional educational institutions, and nonreligious groups whose interests include education, law and religion:

1. promote scholarly discussion and scientific investigation of entheogens;
2. produce empirical evidence about entheogens and scholarly opinions on them;
3. study drug policy and religious activities as they relate to entheogens;
4. make recommendations to the public and to law-making bodies on issues of religious freedom;
5. after legalization, include entheogens as religious instructional technologies, as options for professional and lay spiritual education;
6. consider entheogens as adjuncts in pastoral counseling, notably in hospice situations;
7. support religious groups which use entheogens or wish to do so with care, in a manner consistent with public safety, and within the law.

We further recommend that religious organizations inform their members about these issues and encourage their open discussion.

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Table 1

Common Characteristics of Extroveritive and Introvertive Mystical Experiences (Stace, 1961, p. 131)

Common Characteristics of Extrovertive Mystical Experiences	*Common Characteristics of Introvertive Mystical Experiences*
1. The Unifying Vision-all things are One	1. The Unitary Consciousness; the One, the Void; pure consciousness
2. The more concrete apprehension of the One as an inner subjectivity, or life, in all things	2. Nonspatial, nontemporal
3. Sense of objectivity or reality	3. Sense of objectivity or reality
4. Blessedness, peace, etc.	4. Blessedness, peace, etc.
5. Feeling of the holy, sacred, or divine	5. Feeling of the holy, sacred, or divine
6. Paradoxicality	6. Paradoxicality
7. Alleged by mystics to be ineffable	7. Alleged by mystics to be ineffable

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Table 2

Mysticism Scale, Research Form D (Items are listed under each criterion from which they were operationalized and numbered according to actual scale position) (Hood, 1975, pp. 31-32)

EGO QUALITY: Refers to the experience of a loss of sense of self while consciousness is nevertheless maintained. The loss of self is commonly experienced as an absorption into something greater than the mere empirical ego.

3. I have had an experience in which something greater than myself seemed to absorb me.
4. I have had an experience in which everything seemed to disappear from my mind until I was conscious only of a void.
6. I have NEVER had an experience in which I felt myself to be absorbed as one with all things.
24. I have NEVER had an experience in which my own self seemed to merge into something greater.

UNIFYING QUALITY: Refers to the experience of the multiplicity of objects of perception as nevertheless united. Everything is in fact perceived as "One."

12. I have had an experience in which I realized the oneness of myself with all things.
19. I have had an experience in which I felt everything in the world to be part of the same whole.
28. I have NEVER had an experience in which I became aware of a unity to all things.
30. I have NEVER had an experience in which all things seemed to be unified into a single whole.

INNER SUBJECTIVE QUALITY: Refers to the perception of an inner subjectivity to all things, even those usually experienced in purely material forms.

8. I have NEVER had an experience in which I felt as if all things were alive.
10. I have NEVER had an experience in which all things seemed to be aware.
29. I have had an experience in which all things seemed to be conscious.
31. I have had an experience in which I felt nothing is ever really dead.

TEMPORAL/SPATIAL QUALITY: Refers to the temporal and spatial parameters of the experience. Essentially both time and space are modified with the extreme being one of an experience that is both "timeless" and "spaceless."

1. I have had an experience which was both timeless and spaceless.
11. I have had an experience in which I had no sense of time or space.
15. I have NEVER had an experience in which time and space were non-existent.
27. I have NEVER had an experience in which time, place, and distance were meaningless.

NOETIC QUALITY: Refers to the experience as a source of valid knowledge. Emphasis is on a nonrational, intuitive, insightful experience that is nevertheless recognized as not merely subjective.

13. I have had an experience in which a new view of reality was revealed to me.
16. I have NEVER experienced anything that I could call ultimate reality.
17. I have had an experience in which ultimate reality was revealed to me.
26. I have NEVER had an experience in which deeper aspects of reality were revealed to me.

INEFFABILITY: Refers to the impossibility of expressing the experience in conventional language. The experience simply cannot be put into words due to the nature of the experience itself and not to the linguistic capacity of the subject.

2. I have NEVER had an experience which was incapable of being expressed in words.
21. I have NEVER had an experience which I was unable to express adequately through language.
23. I have had an experience that is impossible to communicate.
32. I have had an experience that cannot be expressed in words.

POSITIVE AFFECT: Refers to the positive affective quality of the experience. Typically the experience is of joy or blissful happiness.

5. I have experienced profound joy.
7. I have NEVER experienced a perfectly peaceful state.
18. I have had an experience in which I felt that all was perfection at that time.
25. I have NEVER had an experience which left me with a feeling of wonder.

RELIGIOUS QUALITY: Refers to the intrinsic sacredness of the experience. This includes feelings of mystery, awe, and reverence that may nevertheless be expressed independently of traditional religious language.

9. I have NEVER had an experience which seemed holy to me.
14. I have NEVER experienced anything to be divine.
20. I have had an experience which I knew to be sacred.
22. I have had an experience which left me with a feeling of awe.

Table 3
Number and Percent of Respondents in Selected Demographic and Religious/Spiritual Items by Users (n = 42) and Nonusers (n = 476) of Entheogens with Pearson Chi-square Results

Variable, M (SD)	Users n	(%)	NonUsers n	(%)	χ^2	p
Sex					37.7	.000
female	13	(31%)	359	(75%)		
male	29	(69%)	117	(25%)		
Age						NA
15-19 years	3	(7%)	121	(25%)		
20-24 years	26	(62%)	286	(60%)		
25-29 years	4	(10%)	31	(7%)		
30-34 years	0		9	(2%)		
35+ years	9	(21%)	29	(6%)		
Religious Affiliation					24.9	.000
Agnostic/Atheist	4	(10%)	18	(4%)		
Traditional	12	(28%)	319	(67%)		
Non-Traditional	26	(62%)	139	(29%)		
Religious/Spiritual Orientation	**4.57**	**(.782)**	**3.24**	**(1.11)**	74.2	.000
(1) Conservative	0		36	(8%)		
(2)	0		70	(15%)		
(3) Mainstream	5	(12%)	183	(39%)		
(4)	8	(19%)	111	(23%)		
(5) Liberal	29	(69%)	72	(15%)		
Meaningfulness of Religious/Spiritual Practice	**3.22**	**(.782)**	**2.83**	**(.891)**	7.3	NS
Unmeaningful	1	(2%)	36	(8%)		
Slightly meaningful	6	(14%)	127	(27%)		
Sometimes very meaningful	18	(43%)	193	(40%)		
Usually very meaningful	17	(41%)	119	(25%)		

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DO DRUGS HAVE RELIGIOUS IMPORT?*

UNTIL six months ago, if I picked up my phone in the Cambridge area and dialed KISS-BIG, a voice would answer, "If-if." These were coincidences: KISS-BIG happened to be the letter equivalents of an arbitrarily assigned telephone number, and I.F.I.F. represented the initials of an organization with the improbable name of the International Federation for Internal Freedom. But the coincidences were apposite to the point of being poetic. "Kiss big" caught the euphoric, manic, life-embracing attitude that characterized this most publicized of the organizations formed to explore the newly synthesized consciousness-changing substances; the organization itself was surely one of the "iffy-est" phenomena to appear on our social and intellectual scene in some time. It produced the first firings in Harvard's history, an ultimatum to get out of Mexico in five days, and "the miracle of Marsh Chapel," in which, during a two-and-one-half-hour Good Friday service, ten theological students and professors ingested psilocybin and were visited by what they generally reported to be the deepest religious experiences of their lives.

Despite the last of these phenomena and its numerous if less dramatic parallels, students of religion appear by and large to be dismissing the psychedelic drugs that have sprung to our attention in the '60s as having little religious relevance. The position taken in one of the most forward-looking volumes of theological essays to have appeared in recent years—*Soundings*, edited by A. R. Vidler[1]—accepts R. C. Zaehner's *Mysticism Sacred and Profane* as having "fully examined and refuted" the religious claims for mescalin which Aldous Huxley sketched in *The Doors of Perception*. This closing of the case strikes me as premature, for it looks as if the drugs have light to throw on the history of religion,

* The amended version of a paper presented to The Woodrow Wilson Society, Princeton University, on May 16, 1964.

[1] *Soundings: Essays concerning Christian Understandings*, A. R. Vidler, ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1962). The statement cited appears on page 72, in H. A. Williams's essay on "Theology and Self-awareness."

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the phenomenology of religion, the philosophy of religion, and the practice of the religious life itself.

1. *Drugs and Religion Viewed Historically*

In his trial-and-error life explorations man almost everywhere has stumbled upon connections between vegetables (eaten or brewed) and actions (yogi breathing exercises, whirling-dervish dances, flagellations) that alter states of consciousness. From the psychopharmacological standpoint we now understand these states to be the products of changes in brain chemistry. From the sociological perspective we see that they tend to be connected in some way with religion. If we discount the wine used in Christian communion services, the instances closest to us in time and space are the peyote of The Native American [Indian] Church and Mexico's 2000-year-old "sacred mushrooms," the latter rendered in Aztec as "God's Flesh"—striking parallel to "the body of our Lord" in the Christian eucharist. Beyond these neighboring instances lie the *soma* of the Hindus, the *haoma* and hemp of the Zoroastrians, the Dionysus of the Greeks who "everywhere . . . taught men the culture of the vine and the mysteries of his worship and everywhere [was] accepted as a god,"[2] the *benzoin* of Southeast Asia, Zen's tea whose fifth cup purifies and whose sixth "calls to the realm of the immortals,"[3] the *pituri* of the Australian aborigines, and probably the mystic *kykeon* that was eaten and drunk at the climactic close of the sixth day of the Eleusinian mysteries.[4] There is no need to extend the list, as a reasonably complete account is available in Philippe de Félice's comprehensive study of the subject, *Poisons sacrés, ivresses divines*.

More interesting than the fact that consciousness-changing devices have been linked with religion is the possibility that they actually initiated many of the religious perspectives which, taking root in history, continued after their psychedelic origins were forgotten. Bergson saw the first movement of Hindus and Greeks toward "dynamic religion" as associated with the "divine rapture" found in intoxicating beverages;[5] more recently Robert Graves, Gordon Wasson, and Alan Watts have suggested that most religions arose from such chemically induced theophanies. Mary

[2] Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York: Mentor, 1953), p. 55.

[3] Quoted in Alan Watts, *The Spirit of Zen* (New York: Grove Press, 1958), p. 110.

[4] George Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1961), p. 284.

[5] *Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (New York: Holt, 1935), pp. 206-212.

Barnard is the most explicit proponent of this thesis. "Which . . . was more likely to happen first," she asks,[8] "the spontaneously generated idea of an afterlife in which the disembodied soul, liberated from the restrictions of time and space, experiences eternal bliss, or the accidental discovery of hallucinogenic plants that give a sense of euphoria, dislocate the center of consciousness, and distort time and space, making them balloon outward in greatly expanded vistas?" Her own answer is that "the [latter] experience might have had . . . an almost explosive effect on the largely dormant minds of men, causing them to think of things they had never thought of before. This, if you like, is direct revelation." Her use of the subjunctive "might" renders this formulation of her answer equivocal, but she concludes her essay on a note that is completely unequivocal: "Looking at the matter coldly, unintoxicated and unentranced, I am willing to prophesy that fifty theobotanists working for fifty years would make the current theories concerning the origins of much mythology and theology as out-of-date as pre-Copernican astronomy."

This is an important hypothesis—one which must surely engage the attention of historians of religion for some time to come. But as I am concerned here only to spot the points at which the drugs erupt onto the field of serious religious study, not to ride the geysers to whatever heights, I shall not pursue Miss Barnard's thesis. Having located what appears to be the crux of the historical question, namely the extent to which drugs not merely duplicate or simulate theologically sponsored experiences but generate or shape theologies themselves, I turn to phenomenology.

2. *Drugs and Religion Viewed Phenomenologically*

Phenomenology attempts a careful description of human experience. The question the drugs pose for the phenomenology of religion, therefore, is whether the experiences they induce differ from religious experiences reached naturally, and if so how.

Even the Bible notes that chemically induced psychic states bear *some* resemblance to religious ones. Peter had to appeal to a circumstantial criterion—the early hour of the day—to defend those who were caught up in the Pentecostal experience against the charge that they were merely drunk: "These men are not drunk, as you suppose, since it is only the third hour of the day" (Acts 2:15); and Paul initiates the comparison when he admonishes the Ephesians not to "get drunk with wine . . . but [to] be filled

[8] "The God in the Flowerpot," *The American Scholar* 32, 4 (Autumn, 1963): 584, 586.

with the spirit" (Ephesians 5:18). Are such comparisons, paralleled in the accounts of virtually every religion, superficial? How far can they be pushed?

Not all the way, students of religion have thus far insisted. With respect to the new drugs, Prof. R. C. Zaehner has drawn the line emphatically. "The importance of Huxley's *Doors of Perception*," he writes, "is that in it the author clearly makes the claim that what he experienced under the influence of mescalin is closely comparable to a genuine mystical experience. If he is right, . . . the conclusions . . . are alarming."[7] Zaehner thinks that Huxley is not right, but I fear that it is Zaehner who is mistaken.

There are, of course, innumerable drug experiences that have no religious feature; they can be sensual as readily as spiritual, trivial as readily as transforming, capricious as readily as sacramental. If there is one point about which every student of the drugs agrees, it is that there is no such thing as the drug experience *per se*—no experience that the drugs, as it were, merely secrete. Every experience is a mix of three ingredients: drug, set (the psychological make-up of the individual), and setting (the social and physical environment in which it is taken). But given the right set and setting, the drugs can induce religious experiences indistinguishable from experiences that occur spontaneously. Nor need set and setting be exceptional. The way the statistics are currently running, it looks as if from one-fourth to one-third of the general population will have religious experiences if they take the drugs under naturalistic conditions, meaning by this conditions in which the researcher supports the subject but does not try to influence the direction his experience will take. Among subjects who have strong religious inclinations to begin with, the proportion of those having religious experiences jumps to three-fourths. If they take the drugs in settings that are religious too, the ratio soars to nine in ten.

How do we know that the experiences these people have really are religious? We can begin with the fact that they say they are. The "one-fourth to one-third of the general population" figure is drawn from two sources. Ten months after they had had their experiences, 24 per cent of the 194 subjects in a study by the California psychiatrist Oscar Janiger characterized their experiences as having been religious.[8] Thirty-two per cent of the 74

[7] *Mysticism, Sacred and Profane* (New York: Oxford, 1961), p. 12.

[8] Quoted in William H. McGlothlin, "Long-lasting Effects of LSD on Certain Attitudes in Normals," printed for private distribution by the RAND Corporation, May, 1962, p. 16.

subjects in Ditman and Hayman's study reported, looking back on their LSD experience, that it looked as if it had been "very much" or "quite a bit" a religious experience; 42 per cent checked as true the statement that they "were left with a greater awareness of God, or a higher power, or ultimate reality."[9] The statement that three-fourths of subjects having religious "sets" will have religious experiences comes from the reports of sixty-nine religious professionals who took the drugs while the Harvard project was in progress.[10]

In the absence of (a) a single definition of religious experience acceptable to psychologists of religion generally and (b) foolproof ways of ascertaining whether actual experiences exemplify any definition, I am not sure there is any better way of telling whether the experiences of the 333 men and women involved in the above studies were religious than by noting whether they seemed so to them. But if more rigorous methods are preferred, they exist; they have been utilized, and they confirm the conviction of the man in the street that drug experiences can indeed be religious. In his doctoral study at Harvard University, Walter Pahnke worked out a typology of religious experience (in this instance of the mystical variety) based on the classic cases of mystical experiences as summarized in Walter Stace's *Mysticism and Philosophy*. He then administered psilocybin to ten theology students and professors in the setting of a Good Friday service. The drug was given "double-blind," meaning that neither Dr. Pahnke nor his subjects knew which ten were getting psilocybin and which ten placebos to constitute a control group. Subsequently the reports the subjects wrote of their experiences were laid successively before three college-graduate housewives who, without being informed about the nature of the study, were asked to rate each statement as to the degree (strong, moderate, slight, or none) to which it exemplified each of the nine traits of mystical experience enumerated in the typology of mysticism worked out in advance. When the test of significance was applied to their statistics, it showed that "those subjects who received psilocybin experienced phenomena which were indistinguishable from, if not identical with . . . the categories defined by our typology of mysticism."[11]

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 46.

[10] Timothy Leary, "The Religious Experience: Its Production and Interpretation," *The Psychedelic Review*, 1, 3 (1964): 325.

[11] "Drugs and Mysticism: An Analysis of the Relationship between Psychedelic Drugs and the Mystical Consciousness," a thesis presented to the Committee on Higher Degrees in History and Philosophy of Religion, Harvard University, June 1963.

With the thought that the reader might like to test his own powers of discernment on the question being considered, I insert here a simple test I gave to a group of Princeton students following a recent discussion sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Society:

Below are accounts of two religious experiences. One occurred under the influence of drugs, one without their influence. Check the one you think *was* drug-induced.

I

Suddenly I burst into a vast, new, indescribably wonderful universe. Although I am writing this over a year later, the thrill of the surprise and amazement, the awesomeness of the revelation, the engulfment in an overwhelming feeling-wave of gratitude and blessed wonderment, are as fresh, and the memory of the experience is as vivid, as if it had happened five minutes ago. And yet to concoct anything by way of description that would even hint at the magnitude, the sense of ultimate reality . . . this seems such an impossible task. The knowledge which has infused and affected every aspect of my life came instantaneously and with such complete force of certainty that it was impossible, then or since, to doubt its validity.

II

All at once, without warning of any kind, I found myself wrapped in a flame-colored cloud. For an instant I thought of fire . . . the next, I knew that the fire was within myself. Directly afterward there came upon me a sense of exultation, of immense joyousness accompanied or immediately followed by an intellectual illumination impossible to describe. Among other things, I did not merely come to believe, but I saw that the universe is not composed of dead matter, but is, on the contrary, a living Presence; I became conscious in myself of eternal life. . . . I saw that all men are immortal: that the cosmic order is such that without any peradventure all things work together for the good of each and all; that the foundation principle of the world . . . is what we call love, and that the happiness of each and all is in the long run absolutely certain.

On the occasion referred to, twice as many students (46) answered incorrectly as answered correctly (23). I bury the correct answer in a footnote to preserve the reader's opportunity to test himself.[12]

Why, in the face of this considerable evidence, does Zaehner hold that drug experiences cannot be authentically religious? There appear to be three reasons:

[12] The first account is quoted anonymously in "The Issue of the Consciousness-expending Drugs," *Main Currents in Modern Thought*, 20, 1 (September–October, 1963): 10–11. The second experience was that of Dr. R. M. Bucke, the author of *Cosmic Consciousness*, as quoted in William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Modern Library, 1902), pp. 390–391. The former experience occurred under the influence of drugs; the latter did not.

1. His own experience was "utterly trivial." This of course proves that not all drug experiences are religious; it does not prove that no drug experiences are religious.

2. He thinks the experiences of others that appear religious to them are not truly so. Zaehner distinguishes three kinds of mysticism: nature mysticism, in which the soul is united with the natural world; monistic mysticism, in which the soul merges with an impersonal absolute; and theism, in which the soul confronts the living, personal God. He concedes that drugs can induce the first two species of mysticism, but not its supreme instance, the theistic. As proof, he analyzes Huxley's experience as recounted in *The Doors of Perception* to show that it produced at best a blend of nature and monistic mysticism. Even if we were to accept Zaehner's evaluation of the three forms of mysticism, Huxley's case, and indeed Zaehner's entire book, would prove only that not every mystical experience induced by the drugs is theistic. Insofar as Zaehner goes beyond this to imply that drugs do not and cannot induce theistic mysticism, he not only goes beyond the evidence but proceeds in the face of it. James Slotkin reports that the peyote Indians "see visions, which may be of Christ Himself. Sometimes they hear the voice of the Great Spirit. Sometimes they become aware of the presence of God and of those personal shortcomings which must be corrected if they are to do His will."[13] And G. M. Carstairs, reporting on the use of psychedelic *bhang* in India, quotes a Brahmin as saying, "It gives good bhakti. . . . You get a very good bhakti with bhang," *bhakti* being precisely Hinduism's theistic variant.[14]

3. There is a third reason why Zaehner might doubt that drugs can induce genuinely mystical experiences. Zaehner is a Roman Catholic, and Roman Catholic doctrine teaches that mystical rapture is a gift of grace and as such can never be reduced to man's control. This may be true; certainly the empirical evidence cited does not preclude the possibility of a genuine ontological or theological difference between natural and drug-induced religious experiences. At this point, however, we are considering phenomenology rather than ontology, description rather than interpretation, and on this level there is no difference. Descriptively, drug experiences cannot be distinguished from their natural religious counterpart. When the current philosophical authority on mysticism, W. T. Stace, was asked whether the drug experience is similar

[13] James S. Slotkin, *Peyote Religion* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1956).

[14] "Daru and Bhang," *Quarterly Journal of the Study of Alcohol*, 15 (1954): 229.

to the mystical experience, he answered, "It's not a matter of its being *similar* to mystical experience; it *is* mystical experience."

What we seem to be witnessing in Zaehner's *Mysticism Sacred and Profane* is a reenactment of the age-old pattern in the conflict between science and religion. Whenever a new controversy arises, religion's first impulse is to deny the disturbing evidence science has produced. Seen in perspective, Zaehner's refusal to admit that drugs can induce experiences descriptively indistinguishable from those which are spontaneously religious is the current counterpart of the seventeenth-century theologians' refusal to look through Galileo's telescope or, when they did, their persistence on dismissing what they saw as machinations of the devil. When the fact that drugs can trigger religious experiences becomes incontrovertible, discussion will move to the more difficult question of how this new fact is to be interpreted. The latter question leads beyond phenomenology into philosophy.

3. *Drugs and Religion Viewed Philosophically*

Why do people reject evidence? Because they find it threatening, we may suppose. Theologians are not the only professionals to utilize this mode of defense. In his *Personal Knowledge*,[10] Michael Polanyi recounts the way the medical profession ignored such palpable facts as the painless amputation of human limbs, performed before their own eyes in hundreds of successive cases, concluding that the subjects were imposters who were either deluding their physicians or colluding with them. One physician, Esdaile, carried out about 300 major operations painlessly under mesmeric trance in India, but neither in India nor in Great Britain could he get medical journals to print accounts of his work. Polanyi attributes this closed-mindedness to "lack of a conceptual framework in which their discoveries could be separated from specious and untenable admixtures."

The "untenable admixture" in the fact that psychotomimetic drugs can induce religious experience is its apparent implicate: that religious disclosures are no more veridical than psychotic ones. For religious skeptics, this conclusion is obviously not untenable at all; it fits in beautifully with their thesis that *all* religion is at heart an escape from reality. Psychotics avoid reality by retiring into dream worlds of make-believe; what better evidence that religious visionaries do the same than the fact that identical changes in brain chemistry produce both states of mind?

[10] Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958.

Had not Marx already warned us that religion is the "opiate" of the people?—apparently he was more literally accurate than he supposed. Freud was likewise too mild. He "never doubted that religious phenomena are to be understood only on the model of the neurotic symptoms of the individual."[10] He should have said "psychotic symptoms."

So the religious skeptic is likely to reason. What about the religious believer? Convinced that religious experiences are not fundamentally delusory, can he admit that psychotomimetic drugs can occasion them? To do so he needs (to return to Polanyi's words) "a conceptual framework in which [the discoveries can] be separated from specious and untenable admixtures," the "untenable admixture" being is this case the conclusion that religious experiences are in general delusory.

One way to effect the separation would be to argue that, despite phenomenological similarities between natural and drug-induced religious experiences, they are separated by a crucial *ontological* difference. Such an argument would follow the pattern of theologians who argue for the "real presence" of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine of the Eucharist despite their admission that chemical analysis, confined as it is to the level of "accidents" rather than "essences," would not disclose this presence. But this distinction will not appeal to many today, for it turns on an essence-accident metaphysics which is not widely accepted. Instead of fighting a rear-guard action by insisting that if drug and non-drug religious experiences cannot be distinguished empirically there must be some transempirical factor that distinguishes them and renders the drug experience profane, I wish to explore the possibility of accepting drug-induced experiences as religious without relinquishing confidence in the truth-claims of religious experience generally.

To begin with the weakest of all arguments, the argument from authority: William James did not discount *his* insights that occurred while his brain chemistry was altered. The paragraph in which he retrospectively evaluates his nitrous oxide experiences has become classic, but it is so pertinent to the present discussion that it merits quoting once again.

> One conclusion was forced upon my mind at that time, and my impression of its truth has ever since remained unshaken. It is that our normal waking consciousness, rational consciousness as we call it, is but one special type of consciousness, whilst all about it, parted from it by the filmiest of screens, there lie potential forms of consciousness entirely different. We may go

[10] *Totem and Taboo* (New York: Modern Library, 1938).

through life without suspecting their existence; but apply the requisite stimulus, and at a touch they are there in all their completeness, definite types of mentality which probably somewhere have their field of application and adaptation. No account of the universe in its totality can be final which leaves these other forms of consciousness quite disregarded. How to regard them is the question—for they are so discontinuous with ordinary consciousness. Yet they may determine attitudes though they cannot furnish formulas, and open a region though they fail to give a map. At any rate, they forbid a premature closing of our accounts with reality. Looking back on my own experiences, they all converge toward a kind of insight to which I cannot help ascribing some metaphysical significance (*op. cit.*, 378–379).

To this argument from authority, I add two arguments that try to provide something by ways of reasons. Drug experiences that assume a religious cast tend to have fearful and/or beatific features, and each of my hypotheses relates to one of these aspects of the experience.

Beginning with the ominous, "fear of the Lord," awe-ful features, Gordon Wasson, the New York banker-turned-mycologist, describes these as he encountered them in his psilocybin experience as follows: "Ecstasy! In common parlance . . . ecstasy is fun. . . . But ecstasy is not fun. Your very soul is seized and shaken until it tingles. After all, who will choose to feel undiluted awe? . . . The unknowing vulgar abuse the word; we must recapture its full and terrifying sense."[17] Emotionally the drug experience can be like having forty-foot waves crash over you for several hours while you cling desperately to a life-raft which may be swept from under you at any minute. It seems quite possible that such an ordeal, like any experience of a close call, could awaken rather fundamental sentiments respecting life and death and destiny and trigger the "no atheists in foxholes" effect. Similarly, as the subject emerges from the trauma and realizes that he is not going to be insane as he had feared, there may come over him an intensified appreciation like that frequently reported by patients recovering from critical illness. "It happened on the day when my bed was pushed out of doors to the open gallery of the hospital," reads one such report:

I cannot now recall whether the revelation came suddenly or gradually; I only remember finding myself in the very midst of those wonderful moments, beholding life for the first time in all its young intoxication of loveliness, in its unspeakable joy, beauty, and importance. I cannot say exactly what the mysterious change was. I saw no new thing, but I saw all the usual things in a miraculous new light—in what I believe is their true light. I

[17] "The Hallucinogenic Fungi of Mexico: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Religious Idea among Primitive Peoples," *Harvard Botanical Museum Leaflets*, 19, 7 (1961).

saw for the first time how wildly beautiful and joyous, beyond any words of mine to describe, is the whole of life. Every human being moving across that porch, every sparrow that flew, every branch tossing in the wind, was caught in and was a part of the whole mad ecstasy of loveliness, of joy, of importance, of intoxication of life.[18]

If we do not discount religious intuitions because they are prompted by battlefields and *physical* crises; if we regard the latter as "calling us to our senses" more often than they seduce us into delusions, need comparable intuitions be discounted simply because the crises that trigger them are of an inner, *psychic* variety?

Turning from the hellish to the heavenly aspects of the drug experience, *some* of the latter may be explainable by the hypothesis just stated; that is, they may be occasioned by the relief that attends the sense of escape from high danger. But this hypothesis cannot possibly account for *all* the beatific episodes, for the simple reason that the positive episodes often come first, or to persons who experience no negative episodes whatever. Dr. Sanford Unger of the National Institute of Mental Health reports that among his subjects "50 to 60% will not manifest any real disturbance worthy of discussion," yet "around 75% will have at least one episode in which exaltation, rapture, and joy are the key descriptions."[19] How are we to account for the drug's capacity to induce peak experiences, such as the following, which are *not* preceded by fear?

A feeling of great peace and contentment seemed to flow through my entire body. All sound ceased and I seemed to be floating in a great, very very still void or hemisphere. It is impossible to describe the overpowering feeling of peace, contentment, and being a part of goodness itself that I felt. I could feel my body dissolving and actually becoming a part of the goodness and peace that was all around me. Words can't describe this. I feel an awe and wonder that such a feeling could have occurred to me.[20]

Consider the following line of argument. Like every other form of life, man's nature has become distinctive through specialization. Man has specialized in developing a cerebral cortex. The analytic powers of this instrument are a standing wonder, but the instrument seems less able to provide man with the sense that he is meaningfully related to his environment: to life, the world, and history in their wholeness. As Albert Camus describes the situa-

[18] Margaret Prescott Montague, *Twenty Minutes of Reality* (St. Paul, Minn.: Macalester Park, 1947), pp. 15, 17.

[19] "The Current Scientific Status of Psychedelic Drug Research," read at the Conference on Methods in Philosophy and the Sciences, New School for Social Research, May 3, 1964, and scheduled for publication in David Solomon, ed., *The Conscious Expanders* (New York: Putnam, fall of 1964).

[20] Quoted by Dr. Unger in the paper just mentioned.

tion, "If I were . . . a cat among animals, this life would have a meaning, or rather this problem would not arise, for I should belong to this world. I would *be* this world to which I am now opposed by my whole consciousness."[21] Note that it is Camus' consciousness that opposes him to his world. The drugs do not knock this consciousness out, but while they leave it operative they also activate areas of the brain that normally lie below its threshold of awareness. One of the clearest objective signs that the drugs are taking effect is the dilation they produce in the pupils of the eyes, and one of the most predictable subjective signs is the intensification of visual perception. Both of these responses are controlled by portions of the brain that lie deep, further to the rear than the mechanisms that govern consciousness. Meanwhile we know that the human organism is interlaced with its world in innumerable ways it normally cannot sense—through gravitational fields, body respiration, and the like: the list could be multiplied until man's skin began to seem more like a thoroughfare than a boundary. Perhaps the deeper regions of the brain which evolved earlier and are more like those of the lower animals—"If I were . . . a cat . . . I should belong to this world"—can sense this relatedness better than can the cerebral cortex which now dominates our awareness. If so, when the drugs rearrange the neurohumors that chemically transmit impulses across synapses between neurons, man's consciousness and his submerged, intuitive, ecological awareness might for a spell become interlaced. This is, of course, no more than a hypothesis, but how else are we to account for the extraordinary incidence under the drugs of that kind of insight the keynote of which James described as "invariably a reconciliation"? "It is as if the opposites of the world, whose contradictoriness and conflict make all our difficulties and troubles, were melted into one and the same genus, but *one of the species*, the nobler and better one, *is itself the genus, and so soaks up and absorbs its opposites into itself*" (*op. cit.*, 379).

4. *The Drugs and Religion Viewed "Religiously"*

Suppose that drugs can induce experiences indistinguishable from religious experiences and that we can respect their reports. Do they shed any light, not (we now ask) on life, but on the nature of the religious life?

One thing they may do is throw religious experience itself into perspective by clarifying its relation to the religious life as a whole. Drugs appear able to induce religious experiences; it is

[21] *The Myth of Sisyphus* (New York: Vintage, 1955), p. 38.

less evident that they can produce religious lives. It follows that religion is more than religious experiences. This is hardly news, but it may be a useful reminder, especially to those who incline toward "the religion of religious experience"; which is to say toward lives bent on the acquisition of desired states of experience irrespective of their relation to life's other demands and components.

Despite the dangers of faculty psychology, it remains useful to regard man as having a mind, a will, and feelings. One of the lessons of religious history is that, to be adequate, a faith must rouse and involve all three components of man's nature. Religions of reason grow arid; religions of duty, leaden. Religions of experience have their comparable pitfalls, as evidenced by Taoism's struggle (not always successful) to keep from degenerating into quietism, and the vehemence with which Zen Buddhism has insisted that once students have attained *satori*, they must be driven out of it, back into the world. The case of Zen is especially pertinent here, for it pivots on an enlightenment experience—*satori*, or *kensho*—which some (but not all) Zennists say resembles LSD. Alike or different, the point is that Zen recognizes that unless the experience is joined to discipline, it will come to naught:

> Even the Buddha . . . had to sit. . . . Without *joriki*, the particular power developed through *zazen* [seated meditation], the vision of oneness attained in enlightenment . . . in time becomes clouded and eventually fades into a pleasant memory instead of remaining an omnipresent reality shaping our daily life. . . . To be able to live in accordance with what the Mind's eye has revealed through *satori* requires, like the purification of character and the development of personality, a ripening period of *zazen*.[22]

If the religion of religious experience is a snare and a delusion, it follows that no religion that fixes its faith primarily in substances that induce religious experiences can be expected to come to a good end. What promised to be a short cut will prove to be a short circuit; what began as a religion will end as a religion surrogate. Whether chemical substances can be helpful *adjuncts* to faith is another question. The peyote-using Native American Church seems to indicate that they can be; anthropologists give this church a good report, noting among other things that members resist alcohol and alcoholism better than do nonmembers.[23] The conclusion to which evidence currently points would seem to be that chemicals *can* aid the religious life, but only where set within a context of faith (meaning by this the conviction that what they

[22] Philip Kapleau, *Zen Practice and Attainment*, a manuscript in process of publication.

[23] Slotkin, *op. cit.*

disclose is true) and discipline (meaning diligent exercise of the will in the attempt to work out the implications of the disclosures for the living of life in the everyday, common-sense world).

Nowhere today in Western civilization are these two conditions jointly fulfilled. Churches lack faith in the sense just mentioned; hipsters lack discipline. This might lead us to forget about the drugs, were it not for one fact: the distinctive religious emotion and the emotion that drugs unquestionably can occasion—Otto's *mysterium tremendum, majestas, mysterium fascinans;* in a phrase, the phenomenon of religious awe—seems to be declining sharply. As Paul Tillich said in an address to the Hillel Society at Harvard several years ago:

> The question our century puts before us [is]: is it possible to regain the lost dimension, the encounter with the Holy, the dimension which cuts through the world of subjectivity and objectivity and goes down to that which is not world but is the mystery of the Ground of Being?

Tillich may be right; this may be the religious question of our century. For if (as we have insisted) religion cannot be equated with religious experiences, neither can it long survive their absence.

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Appendix: The Psychedelic Evidence

Know ten things, the Chinese say; tell nine—there is reason to question whether it is wise even to mention the psychedelics in connection with God and the Infinite. For though a connection exists, it is—as in the comparable case of the role of sex in Tantra—next to impossible to speak of it without being misunderstood. It is for this reason, we suspect, that the Eleusinian mysteries were among the best-kept in history, and Brahmins came eventually to conceal, then deliberately forget, the identity of soma.[1]

If the only thing to say about the psychedelics was that they seem on occasion to offer direct disclosures of the psychic and celestial planes as well as (in rare instances) the Infinite itself, we would hold our peace. For though such experiences may be veridical in ways, the goal, it cannot be stressed too often, is not religious experiences; it is the religious life. And with respect to the latter, psychedelic "theophanies" can abort a quest as readily as, perhaps more readily than, they can further it.

It is not, therefore, the isolated mystical experiences which the psychedelics can occasion that lead us to add this appendix on the subject, but rather evidence of a different order. Long-term, professionally garnered and carefully weighed, this latter evidence deserves to be called, if anything in this area merits the term, scientific. We enter it because of the ways in which, and extent to which, this evidence seems to corroborate the primordial anthropology that Chap-

1. See the author's "Wasson's *SOMA*: A Review Article," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, XL, 4 (Dec. 1972).

ter 4 sketched in paradigm. In contradistinction to writings on the psychedelics which are occupied with experiences the mind can *have*, the concern here is with evidence they afford as to what the mind *is*.[2]

The evidence in question is not widely known, for to date it has been reported only in a few relatively obscure journals and a book but recently off the press. At the same time, judged both by quantity of data encompassed and by the explanatory power of the hypotheses that make sense of this data, it is the most formidable evidence the psychedelics have thus far produced. The evidence to which we refer is that which has emerged through the work of Stanislav Grof.[3]

Grof's work began in Czechoslovakia, where for four years he worked in an interdisciplinary complex of research institutes in Prague and for another seven in the Psychiatric Research Institute that developed out of this complex; on coming to the United States in 1967 he continued his investigations at the Research Unit of Spring Grove State Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland. Two covering facts about his work are worth noting before we turn to its content. First, in the use of psychedelics for therapeutic and personality assessment, his experience is by far the vastest that any single individual has amassed, covering as it does over 2,500 sessions in which he spent a minimum of five hours with the subject. In addition his studies cover another 800 cases his colleagues at Baltimore and Prague conducted. Second, in spanning the Atlantic his work spans the two

2. "LSD, the most powerful psycho-active drug ever known to man, is essentially an unspecific amplifier of mental processes. What we see in LSD sessions is only an exteriorization and magnification of dynamics that underlie human nature and human civilization. Properly used, the drug is a tool for a deeper understanding of the human mind and human nature." Abridged from the writings of Stanislav Grof, cited in footnote 3.

3. His book, the first in a projected five-volume series, is *Realms of the Human Unconscious: Observations from LSD Research* (New York: Viking Press, 1975). His journal articles are: "Beyond Psychoanalysis: I. Implications of LSD Research for Understanding Dimensions of Human Personality," *Darshana International* (India, 1970); "LSD Psychotherapy and Human Culture," *Journal of the Study of Consciousness*, Part I, 1970, Part II, 1971; "The Use of LSD in Psychotherapy," *Journal of Psychedelic Drugs*," 1970; "Varieties of Transpersonal Experiences: Observations from LSD Psychotherapy," *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, 1972; "LSD and the Cosmic Game: Outline of Psychedelic Cosmology and Ontology," *Journal of the Study of Consciousness*, 1972; and one more which, because it is his latest paper, will be quoted most often in this chapter. It is cited in footnote 4.

dominant approaches to psychedelic therapy that have been developed: psycholytic therapy (used at Prague and favored in Europe generally), which involves numerous administrations of low to medium doses of LSD or variant over a long therapeutic program, and psychedelic therapy (confined to America), which involves one or a few high doses in a short period of treatment.

The first thing Grof and his associates discovered was that there is no specific pharmacological effect which LSD invariably produces: "I have not been able to find a single phenomenon that could be considered an invariant product of the chemical action of the drug in any of the areas studied—perceptual, emotional, ideational, and physical."[4] Not even mydriasis (prolonged dilatation of the pupils), one of the most common symptoms, occurs invariably. Psychological effects vary even more than do physiological, but the range of the latter—mydriasis, nausea, and vomiting, enhanced intestinal movements, diarrhea, constipation, frequent urination, acceleration as well as retardation of pulse, cardiac distress and pain, palpitations, suffocation and dyspnea, excessive sweating and hypersalivation, dry mouth, reddening of the skin, hot flushes and chills, instability and vertigo, inner trembling, fine muscle tremors—exceeds that of any other drug that affects the autonomic nervous system. These somatic symptoms are practically independent of dosage and occur in all possible combinations. Variability between subjects is equaled by variation in the symptoms a single subject will experience under different circumstances; particularly important from the clinical point of view are the differences that appear at different stages in the therapeutic process. All this led Grof to conclude that LSD is not a specific causal agent, but rather a catalyzer. It is, as footnote 2 indicates, an unspecific amplifier of neural and mental processes. By exteriorizing for the therapist and raising to consciousness for the patient himself material otherwise buried, and by enlarging this material to the point of caricature so that it appears as if under a magnifying glass, the psychedelics are, Grof became convinced, an

4. "Theoretical and Empirical Basis of Transpersonal Psychology and Psychotherapy: Observations from LSD Research," *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology*, 1973. Unless otherwise indicated, subsequent references in this appendix will be to this, Grof's latest paper. Also, though his work covers a wide spectrum of psychedelic substances, most of it was with LSD, so we shall limit our references to it.

unrivaled instrument: first, for identifying causes in psychopathology (the problem that is causing the difficulty); second, for personality diagnosis (determining the character type of the subject in question); and third, for understanding the human mind generally. "It does not seem inappropriate to compare their potential significance for psychiatry and psychology to that of the microscope for medicine or of the telescope in astronomy. . . . Freud called dreams the 'royal way to the unconscious.' The statement is valid to a greater extent for LSD experiences."[5]

Of the drug's three potentials, it is the third—its resources for enlarging our understanding of the human mind and self—that concerns us in this book. The nature of man has been so central to our study that even flickers of light from Grof's work would make it interesting. That the light proves to be remarkably clear and steady makes it important.

We come at once to the point. The view of man that was outlined in Chapter 4 presented him as a multilayered creature, and Grof's work points to the same conclusion. As long as the matter is put thus generally it signals nothing novel, for existing depth psychology —psychiatry, psychoanalysis—says the same; the adjective "depth" implies as much, and metaphors of archaeology and excavation dot the writings of Freud, Jung, and their colleagues. The novelty of Grof's work lies in the precision with which the levels of the mind it brings to view correspond with the levels of selfhood the primordial tradition describes.

In chemo-excavation the levels come to view sequentially. In this respect, too, images of archaeology apply: surface levels must be uncovered to get at ones that lie deeper. In psychedelic (high-dose) therapy the deeper levels appear later in the course of a single session; in psycholytic (low-dose) therapy they surface later in the sequence of therapeutic sessions. The sequences are parallel, but since the levels first came to Grof's attention during his psycholytic work in Prague, and since that earlier work was the more extensive, covering eleven of the seventeen years he has been working with the

5. "Theory and Practice of LSD Psychotherapy" (U68). Instead of being published as a single volume as Grof originally intended, this long, initial report of his study is being reworked for projected issue in five volumes, the first of which, as indicated in footnote 3, appeared in 1975. Page references to the comprehensive original report will hereafter be prefixed with a U, indicating unpublished. Page numbers not thus prefixed refer to the paper named in footnote 4.

drugs, we shall confine ourselves to it in reporting his experimental design.

The basic study at Prague covered fifty-two psychiatric patients. All major clinical categories were represented, from depressive disorders through psychoneuroses, psychosomatic diseases, and character disorders to borderline and clear-cut psychoses in the schizophrenic group. Patients with above-average intelligence were favored to obtain high-quality introspective reports; otherwise cases with dim prognosis in each category were chosen. Grof himself worked with twenty-two of the subjects, his two colleagues with the remainder. The number of psycholytic sessions ranged from fifteen to one hundred per patient with a total of over 2,500 sessions being conducted. Each patient's treatment began with several weeks of drug-free psychotherapy. Thereafter the therapy was punctuated with doses of 100 to 250 micrograms of LSD administered at seven- to fourteen-day intervals.

The basic finding was that "when material from consecutive LSD sessions of the same person was compared it became evident that there was a definite continuity between these sessions. Rather than being unrelated and random, the material seemed to represent a successive unfolding of deeper and deeper levels of the unconscious with a very definite trend" (U41).

The trend regularly led through three successive stages preceded by another which, being less important psychologically, Grof calls a preliminary phase. In this opening phase the chemical works primarily on the subject's body. In this respect it resembles what earlier researchers had called the vegetative phase, but the two are not identical. Proponents of a vegetative phase assumed that LSD directly caused the manifold somatic responses patients typically experience in the early stages of psychedelic sessions. We have seen that Grof's more extensive evidence countered this view. Vegetative symptoms are real enough, but they vary so much between subjects and for a single subject under varying circumstances that it seems probable that they are occasioned more by anxieties and resistances than by the chemical's direct action. There is also the fact that they are far from confined to early phases of the LSD sequence. These considerations led Grof to doubt that there is a vegetative phase per se. The most he is prepared to admit is that the drug has a tendency at the start to affect one specific part of the body: its perceptual and particularly its optical apparatus. Colors become

title *The Trauma of Birth*, and to use Grof's own word, he was "flabbergasted" to find how closely the second-stage psycholytic experiences conformed to it. He and his colleagues fell to calling the second stage perinatal or Rankian.

During the weeks through which the stage extends, the patient's clinical condition worsens. The stage climaxes in a session in which the patient experiences the agony of dying and appears to himself actually to die.

> The subjects can spend hours in agonizing pain, with facial contortions, gasping for breath and discharging enormous amounts of muscular tension in various tremors, twitching, violent shaking and complex twisting movements. The color of the face can be dark purple or dead pale, and the pulse rate considerably accelerated. The body temperature usually oscillates in a wide range, sweating can be profuse, and nausea with projectile vomiting is a frequent occurrence. [*ibid.*]

This death experience tends to be followed immediately by rebirth, an explosive ecstasy in which joy, freedom, and the promise of life of a new order are the dominant motifs.

Outside the LSD sequence the new life showed itself in the patients' marked clinical improvement. Within the sequence it introduced a third experiential landscape. When Grof's eyes became acclimated to it, it appeared at first to be Jungian. Jung being the only major psychologist to have dealt seriously and relatively unreductionistically with the visions that appeared. Later it seemed clearer to refer to the stage as transpersonal.

Two features defined this third and final stage. First, its "most typical characteristics . . . were profound religious and mystical experiences" (I?125).

> Everyone who experientially reached these levels developed convincing insights into the utmost relevance of spiritual and religious dimensions in the universal scheme of things. Even the most hard-core materialists, positivistically-oriented scientists, skeptics and cynics, uncompromising atheists and antireligious cruaders such as the Marxist philosophers, became suddenly interested in spiritual search after they confronted these levels in themselves. [p. 25]

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Grof speaks of levels in the plural here, for the "agonizing existential crisis" of the second stage is already religious in its way: death and rebirth are ultimates or none exist. The distinguishing feature of

the third stage is not, strictly speaking, that it is religious but that it is (as Grof's words indicate) mystically religious: religious in a mode in which (a) the whole predominates over the part, and (b) within the whole evil is rescinded. This connects with the stage's other feature, its transpersonal aspect, which was so pronounced as to present itself in the end as the logical candidate for the name by which the stage should be designated. A trend toward transpersonal experiences, that is, ones occupied with things other than oneself, had already shown itself in stage two. Suffering, for example, which in the first stage presented itself in the form of recollected autobiographical traumas, had in the second stage taken the form of identifying with the suffering of others, usually groups of others: famine victims, prisoners in Nazi concentration camps, or mankind as a whole with its suffering symbolized archetypally by Christ on his cross, Tantalus exposed to eternal tortures in Hades, Sisyphus rolling his boulder incessantly, Ixion fixed on his wheel, or Prometheus chained to his rock. Likewise with death, already by stage two "the subjects felt that they were operating in a framework which was 'beyond individual death' " (*U*125). The third stage continues this outbound, transpersonal momentum. Now the phenomena with which the subject identifies are not restricted to mankind or even to living forms. They are cosmic, having to do with the elements and forces from which life proceeds. And the subject is less conscious of himself as separate from what he perceives. To a large extent the subject-object dichotomy is itself transcended.

So much for description of the three stages. Now to interpretation and explanation.

Grof was and is a psychiatrist. Psychiatry is the study and practice of ontogenetic explanation: it accounts for present syndromes in terms of antecedent experiences in the life history of the individual. Freud had mined these experiences as they occur in infancy and childhood, but Grof's work had led to regions Freud's map did not fit. Clearly, as psychiatrist, Grof had nowhere to turn for explanations save further in the same direction—further back. His very methodology forced him to take seriously the possibility that experiences attending birth and even gestation could affect ensuing life trajectories.

Taking his cues from *The Trauma of Birth* while emending it in important respects, Grof worked out a typology in which second- and third-stage LSD experiences are correlated with four distinct stages

in the birth process: (a) a comfortable, intrauterine stage before the onset of labor, (b) an oppressive stage at labor's start when the fetus suffers the womb's contractions and has "no exit" inasmuch as the cervix has not opened; (c) the traumatic ensuing stage of labor during which the fetus is violently ejected through the birth canal; and (d) the freedom and release of birth itself. B and c seemed to Grof to vector the second or Rankian stage in the LSD sequence. In the reliving of b, the oppressiveness of the womb is generalized and the entire world, existence itself, is experienced as oppressive. C, when relived—the agony of labor and forced expulsion through the birth canal—produces the experience of dying: traumatic ejection from the only life giving context one has known. The rebirth experience in which the Rankian stage climaxes derives from reliving the experience of physical birth (d) and paves the way for the ensuing transpersonal stage. The sense of unshadowed bliss that dominates this final stage taps the earliest memories of all: before the womb grew crowded, when the fetus blended with its mother in mystic embrace (a).

Even in bare outline Grof's hypothesis is plausible, and when fleshed out with the case histories and experiential accounts that gave rise to it (material that is fascinating but which space precludes our entering here) it is doubly so. When subjects in their Rankian stage report first suffocation and then a violent, projective explosion in which not only blood but urine and feces are everywhere, one is persuaded that revived memories of the birth process play at least a part in triggering, shaping, and energizing later-stage LSD experiences. The question is: Are these the only causes at work? As we have noted, in the psychiatric model of man, once the Freudian domain has been exhausted there is nowhere to look for causes save where Rank did and Grof does: the ego, driven back to earlier and yet earlier libido positions, finally reenters the uterus. In the model of man that was sketched in Chapter 4, however, things are different. There the social and biological history of the organism is not the sole resource for explanation. "The soul that rises with us . . .

> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness . . .
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come . . .

From whence? "From God," Wordsworth tells us, and we agree. When he adds in the line that follows: "Heaven lies about us in our infancy!" we again concur, as the celestial plane it envelops our souls not only in their infancy but always. More proximately, however, it is the intermediate or psychic plane from which we stem. Whereas in the psychiatric perspective body is basic and explanations for mental occurrences are sought in body's endowments or history, in the primordial psychology body represents a kind of shaking out of what has condensed on the plane of mental phenomena that exist prior to body and are more real than body. We are back at the point Chapter 4 made in the context of dreams: it is not so much that we dream as that we are dreamed, if we may use this way of saying that the forces that come to the fore in our dreams pull the strings that govern our puppet existences. They do not govern them entirely—man is man, not manikin—but to say that they govern them is closer to the truth than is the epiphenomenal view in which body pays the piper and calls the tunes that dreams play out.

Thus to Grof's finding that later stages in the LSD sequence conform to the stages of the birth process to a degree that warrants our saying that they are influenced by those stages, we add: influenced only, not caused. To a greater degree the experiences of these stages put the subject in direct touch with the psychic and archetypal forces of which his life is distillation and product. Birth and death are not physical only. Everyone knows this, but it is less recognized that physical birth and death are relatively minor manifestations of forces that are cosmic in blanketing the manifest world, the terrestrial and intermediate planes combined. Buddhism's *pratītya samutpada* (Formulation of Dependent Origination) says profound things on this point, but all we shall say is that when a psychic quantum, germ of an ego, decides—out of ignorance the Buddhists insert immediately—that it would be interesting to go it alone and have an independent career, in thereby distinguishing itself from the whole, and setting itself in ways against the whole, the ego shoulders certain consequences. Because it is finite, things will not always go its way; hence suffering in its manifold varieties. And the temporal side of the self's finitude ordains that it will die—piecemeal from the start as cells and minor dreams collapse, but eventually in its entirety. Energy is indestructible, however, so in some form

there is rebirth. Confrontation of these principal truths in their transpersonal and trans-species scopes and intensity is the basic stuff of later-stage LSD experience. Biological memory enters, but conceivably with little more than a "me too": I too know the sequence from the time I was forged and delivered.

Spelled out in greater detail, the primordial explanation of the sequence would run as follows. Accepting LSD as a "tool for the study of the structure of human personality; of its various facets and levels," we see it uncovering the successively deeper layers of the self which Grof's study brings to light. Grof's psychiatric explanation for why it does so is that "defense systems are considerably loosened, resistances decrease, and memory recall is facilitated to a great degree. Deep unconscious material emerges into consciousness and is experienced in a complex symbolic way" (U277). Our explanation shifts the accent. Only in the first stage are the defense systems that are loosened ones that the individual ego builds to screen out painful memories. For the rest, what is loosened are structures that condition the human mode of existence and separate it from modes that are higher: its corporeality and compliance with the spatio-temporal structures of the terrestrial plane. The same holds for the memory recall that LSD facilitates. In the first stage it is indeed memory that is activated as the subject relives, directly or in symbolic guise, the experiences that had befallen it, but in later stages what the psychiatrist continues to see as memory—an even earlier, intrauterine memory—the ontologist (short of invoking reincarnation) sees as discovery: the discovery of layers of selfhood that are present from conception but are normally obscured from view. Likewise with the "peculiar double orientation and double role of the subject" that Grof describes. "On the one hand," he writes, the subject "experiences full and complex age regression into the traumatic situations of childhood; on the other hand, he can assume alternately or even simultaneously the position corresponding to his real age" (U279). This oscillation characterizes the entire sequence, but only in the first stage is its not-immediate referent the past. In the later sessions, that which is not immediate is removed not in time but in space—psychological space, of course. It lies below the surface of the exterior self that is normally in view.

The paradigm of the self that was sketched in Chapter 4 showed it to be composed of four parts: body, mind, soul, and Spirit. Work-

ing with spatial imagery, we can visualize LSD as a seeing-eye probe that penetrates progressively toward the core of the subject's being. In the early sessions of the LSD sequence it moves through the subject's *body* in two steps. The first of these triggers peripheral somatic responses, most regularly ones relating to perception, to produce the aesthetic phase. The second moves into memory regions of the brain where, Wilder Penfield has posited, a complete cinematographic record of everything the subject has experienced lies stored. That the events that were most important in the subject's formation are the ones that rush forward for attention stands to reason. We are into the first of the three main stages of the psycholytic sequence, the psychodynamic or Freudian stage.

Passage from the Freudian to the Rankian stage occurs when the chemicals enter the region of the mind that outdistances the brain and swims in the medium of the psychic or intermediate plane. The phenomenological consequences could almost have been predicted:

1. Biographical data—events that imprinted themselves on the subject's body, in this case the memory region of his brain—recede.

2. Their place is taken by the "existentials"—conditioning structures—of human existence in general. The grim affect of this stage could be due in part to memories of the ordeals of gestation and birth, but the torment, the sense of the wistfulness and pathos of a suffering humanity and indeed life in all its forms, derives mainly from the fact that the larger purview of the intermediate plane renders the limitations (*dukkha*) of the terrestrial plane more visible than when the subject is immersed in them.

3. In the death and rebirth experience that climaxes this phase, Rankian factors could again cooperate without precluding causes that are more basic. The self had entered the intermediate plane through the soul's assumption of—compression into—mind; as the Hindus say, the *jiva* assumed a subtle body. Now, in the reversal of this sequence, mind must be dissolved (die) for soul to be released (reborn).

The sense of release from the imprisoning structures of mind signals the fact that the probe has reached the level of *soul*. The phenomenological consequences are the ones Grof's subjects reported in the transpersonal stage, the main ones being the following:

1. Whereas in the Rankian stage "there . . . was . . . a very distinct polarity between very positive and very negative experience" (U125),

experience is now predominantly beatific, with "melted ecstacy" perhaps its most-reported theme. Subjects "speak about mystic union, the fusion of the subjective with the objective world, identification with the universe, cosmic consciousness, the intuitive insight into the essence of being, the Buddhist nirvanam, the Vedic samadhi, the harmony of worlds and spheres, the approximation to God, etc." (U29).

2. Experience is more abstract. At its peak it "is usually contentless and accompanied by visions of blinding light or beautiful colors (heavenly blue, gold, the rainbow spectrum, peacock feathers, etc.)" *(ibid.)* or is associated with space or sound. When its accouterments are more concrete they tend to be archetypal, with the archetypes seeming to be limitless in number. The celestial plane which the soul inhabits is, we recall, the plane of God and the archetypes. The distinction between the two, which if fleshed out would result in an ontology of five tiers instead of four (see footnote, page 51), is for purposes of simplification and symmetry being played down in the present book.

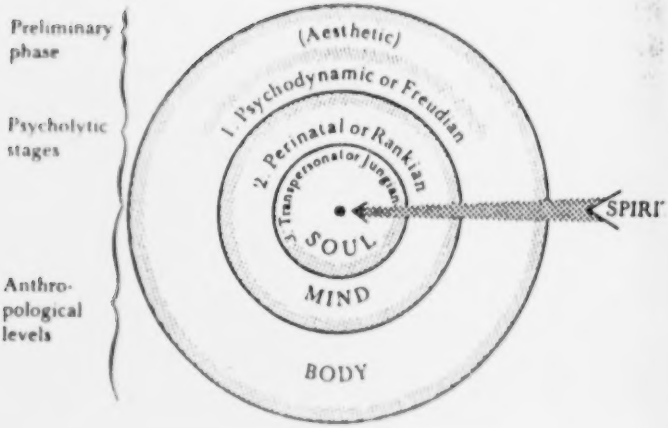
3. The God who is almost invariably encountered is single and so far removed from anthropomorphism as to elicit, often, the pronoun "it." This is in contrast to the gods of the Rankian stage which tend to be multiple, Olympian, and essentially enlarged titans.

Beyond the soul lies only *Spirit*, an essence so ineffable that when the seeing eye strikes it, virtually all that can be reported is that it is "beyond" and "more than" all that had been encountered theretofore.

The correlations between the primordial anthropology and the psychedelic sequence can be diagramed as shown opposite:

Up to this point we have noted Grof's empirical findings, and compared the way they fit into his Rank-extended psychiatric theories on the one hand and into the primordial understanding of man on the other. It remains to point out how the findings of seventeen years affected his own thinking.

Engaged as he was in "the first mapping of completely unknown territories" (U267), he could not have foreseen where his inquiry would lead. What he found was that in "the most fascinating intellectual and spiritual adventure of my life [it] opened up new fantastic areas and forced me to break with the old systems and frameworks" (U250). The first change in his thinking has already



been noted: the psycholytic sequences showed the birth trauma to have more dynamic consequences than Grof and his strictly Freudian associates had supposed. This change psychoanalysis could accommodate, but not the one that followed. "I started my LSD research in 1956 as a convinced and dedicated psychoanalyst," he writes. "In the light of everyday clinical observations in LSD sessions, I found this conception untenable" (p. 17). Basically, what proved to be untenable was "the present . . . gloomy . . . image of man, which is to a great extent influenced by psychoanalysis" (U382).[7]

> This picture of man,
>
> that of a social animal basically governed by blind and irrational instinctual forces . . . contradicts the experiences from the LSD sessions or at least appears superficial and limited. Most of the instinctual tendencies described by psychoanalysis (incestuous and murderous wishes, cannibalistic impulses, sadomasochistic inclinations, coprophilia, etc.) are very striking in the early LSD sessions; these observations are so common that they could almost be con-

7. The flyleaf of Rank's book which served as almost the bible for Grof's work in one of its stages carries a quotation from Nietzsche: "The very best . . . is, not to be born. . . . The next best . . . is . . . to die soon."

sidered experimental evidence for some of the basic assumptions of psychoanalysis. Most of them, however, appear in the sessions for only a limited period of time. This whole area can be transcended [whereupon] we are confronted with an image of man which is diametrically opposed to the previous one. Man in his innermost nature appears then as a being that is fundamentally in harmony with his environment and is governed by intrinsic high and universal values. [U382–83, deletions not indicated.]

This change in anthropology has been the solid effect of psychedelic evidence on Grof's thinking. In psychoanalytic terms, if Freud discovered the importance of infantile experience on ontogenetic development and Rank the importance of the experience of birth itself, Grof's discoveries carry this search for ever earlier etiologies—in psychoanalytic theory earlier = stronger—to its absolute limit: his optimistic view of man derives from discovering the influence and latent power of early-gestation memories; memories of the way things were when the womb was still uncongested and all was well. Beyond this revised anthropology, however, Grof has toyed with a changed ontology as well. Endowments that supplement his psychiatric competences have helped him here: he has an "ear" for metaphysics and an abiding ontological interest. These caused him to listen attentively from the start to his subjects' reports on the nature of reality, and in one of his recent papers, "LSD and the Cosmic Game: Outline of Psychedelic Cosmology and Ontology" (see footnote 3, page 156), he gives these reports full rein. Laying aside for the interval his role as research psychiatrist, which required seeing patients' experiences as shaped by if not projected from early formative experiences, in this paper Grof turns phenomenologist and allows their reports to stand in their own right. The view of reality that results is so uncannily like the one that has been outlined in this book that, interlacing paraphrases of passages in Grof's article with direct quotations from it, we present it here in summary.

The ultimate source of existence is the Void, the supracosmic Silence, the uncreated and absolutely ineffable Supreme.

The first possible formulation of this source is Universal Mind. Here, too, words fail, for Mind transcends the dichotomies, polarities, and paradoxes that harry the relative world. Insofar as description is attempted, the Vedantic ternary—Infinite Existence, Infinite Intelligence, Infinite Bliss—is as adequate as any.

God is not limited to his foregoing, "abstract" modes. He can be encountered concretely, as the God of the Old and New Testaments, Buddha, Shiva, or in other modes. These modes do not, however, wear the mantle of ultimacy or provide answers that are final.

The phenomenal worlds owe their existence to Universal Mind, which Mind does not itself become implicated in their categories. Man, together with the three-dimensional world he experiences, is but one of innumerable modes through which Mind experiences itself. The "heavy physicality" and seemingly objective finality of man's material world, its space-time grid and laws of nature that offer themselves as if they were *sine qua nons* of existence itself —all these are in fact highly provisional and relative. Under exceptional circumstances man can rise to a level of consciousness where he sees that taken together they constitute but one of inumerable sets of limiting constructs Universal Mind assumes. To saddle that Mind itself with these categories would be as ridiculous as trying to understand the human mind through the rules of chess.

Created entities tend progressively to lose contact with their original source and the awareness of their pristine identity with it. In the initial stage of this falling away, created entities maintain contact with their source and the separation is playful, relative, and obviously tentative. An image that would illustrate this stage is that of waves on the ocean. From a certain point of view they are individual entities; we can speak of a large, fast, green, and foamy wave, for example. At the same time it is transparently evident that in spite of its relative individuation the wave is part of the ocean.

At the next stage created entities assume a partial independence and we can observe the beginnings of "cosmic screenwork." Here unity with the source can be temporarily forgotten in the way an actor on stage can virtually forget his own identity while he identifies with the character he portrays.

Continuation of the process of partitioning results in a situation in which individuation is permanently and for all practical purposes complete, and only occasionally do intimations of the original wholeness resurface. This can be illustrated by the relationship between cells of a body, organs, and the body as a whole. Cells are separate entities but function as parts of organs. The latter have even more independence, but they too play out their roles in the complete organism. Individuation and participation are dialectically combined. Complex biochemical interactions

bridge provisional boundaries to ensure the functioning of the organism as a whole.

In the final stage the separation is practically complete. Liaison with the source is lost and the original identity completely forgotten. The "screen" is now all but impermeable; radical qualitative change is required for the original unity to be restored. Symbol of this might be a snowflake, crystallized from water that has evaporated from the ocean. It bears little outward similarity to its source and must undergo a change in structure if reunion is to occur.

Human beings who manage to effect the change just referred to find thereafter that life's polarities paradoxically both do and do not exist. This holds for such contraries as spirit/matter, good/evil, stability/motion, heaven/hell, beauty/ugliness, agony/ecstasy, etc. In the last analysis there is no difference between subject and object, observer and observed, experiencer and experienced, creator and creation.

In the early years of psychoanalysis when hostility was shown to its reports and theories on account of their astonishing novelty, and they were dismissed as products of their authors' perverted imaginations, Freud used to hold up against this objection the argument that no human brain could have invented such facts and connections had they not been persistently forced on it by a series of converging and interlocking observations. Grof might have argued equally: to wit, that the "psychedelic cosmology and ontology" that his patients come up with is as uninventable as Freud's own system. In fact, however, he does not do so. In the manner of a good phenomenologist he lets the picture speak for itself, neither belittling it by referring it back to causes that in purporting to explain it would explain it away, nor arguing that it is true. As phenomenologists themselves would say, he "brackets" his own judgment regarding the truth question and contents himself with reporting what his patients said about it.

The idea that the "three-dimensional world" is only one of many experiential worlds created by the Universal Mind . . . appeared to them much more logical than the opposite alternative that is so frequently taken for granted, namely, that the material world has objective reality of its own and that the human consciousness and the concept of God are merely products of highly organized matter, the human brain. When closely analyzed the

latter concept presents at least as many incongruences, paradoxes and absurdities as the described concept of the Universal Mind. The problems of finity versus infinity of time and space; the enigma of the origin of matter, energy and space; and the mystery of the prime impulse appear to be so overwhelming and defeating that one seriously questions why this approach should be given priority in our thinking. [p. 11]

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Psychedelics and Religion: An Addendum

Huston Smith

Huston Smith has been a professor of philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is professor emeritus of religion, Syracuse University. He is the author of *The Religions of Man*, *Forgotten Truth: The Primordial Tradition*, and *Beyond Post-Modern Mind*.

Almost 25 years have elapsed since I wrote my first and main essay on the psychedelics, "Do Drugs Have Religious Import?" Published as the psychedelic sixties were nearing their peak, it addressed a lively topic on college campuses. The issue of *The Journal of Philosophy* in which it appeared[1] had to be re-run, and it has been anthologized more than any other essay in the 85 years of that journal's history. Fourteen collections of essays, most of them philosophy textbooks, have reprinted it.

Two other essays followed that one. Whereas my initial paper argued an affirmative thesis—that for some subjects, under some circumstances, psychedelics can occasion experiences that are phenomenologically (which is to say, descriptively) indistinguishable from religious experiences that occur without them—my second essay, "Psychedelic Theophanies and the Religious Life,"[2] was cautionary. Three additional years of the psychedelic movement did not cause me to retract my original thesis, but the careening course of that movement did suggest that my thesis should be amended. Drug-induced religious experiences, I noted in this second essay, seem to have less staying power. Their carry-over into subsequent life does not seem to equal that of non-drug-induced experiences, which typically are backed by a validating theology, a supportive community (a church), and an ethic that relates the experience to everyday life.[3]

Only one more step seemed needed: namely, to draw the logical conclusion that if the chemicals were ingested unwittingly, in a society where the reductionistic explanations of psychopharmacology were unknown, their religious consequences would not be compromised. R. Gordon Wasson's identification of the soma plant of Vedic India as the mushroom *Amanita muscaria* seemed to nail down that conclusion. I devoted the last summer of the sixties to studying the responses of mycologists, Indologists, anthropologists, and linguists to Wasson's important (but still too little attended to) *Soma: Divine Mushroom of Immortality*,[4] and my review article on that book rounded off the psychedelic decade.[5]

Four years later, I included a summary of Stanislav Grof's important work as an appendix to my *Forgotten Truth: The Primordial Tradition*[6] to highlight the striking correlation between the layers of consciousness that LSD-therapy patients penetrate and the levels of selfhood that religious traditions have typically posited, but there I let matters rest. Although much remained to be done toward understanding how psychedelics affect brain functioning, why they occasion the subjective experiences they do, and what their potential is for psychotherapy, on their relation to religion there seemed to be nothing more to say. And so it still appears to me regarding fundamentals. However, two items that flesh out my sixties' conclusions have emerged in the interval, and as they are interesting in their own right, I avail myself of this opportunity to add them to the record.

The first concerns new findings that might bear on how the psychedelics work: I refer to the split-brain research that gained prominence in the seventies. Pondering in my initial essay the extraordinary sense of relatedness to the world that LSD subjects frequently report, I reached out for a longitudinal or "vertical" hypothesis. Because the opposite of this relatedness—our experience of being opposed to the world—is registered by a late evolutionary development, the cerebral cortex,[7] I speculated that this sense of unity might derive from the drug's having introduced its taker to a deeper, more primitive region of the brain, one that monitors continuities. About this first hypothesis I wrote in my initial essay:

> One of the clearest objective signs that the drugs are taking effect is the dilation they produce in the pupils of the eyes, and one of the most predictable subjective signs is the intensification of visual perception. Both of these responses are controlled by portions of the brain that lie deep; further to the rear than the mechanisms that govern consciousness. Meanwhile we know that the human organism is interlaced with its world in innumerable ways it normally cannot sense—through gravita-

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The human organism is interlaced with its world in innumerable ways it normally cannot sense.

> tional fields, body respiration, and the like the list could be multiplied until man's skin began to seem more like a thoroughfare than a boundary. Perhaps the deeper regions of the brain which evolved earlier and are more like those of the lower animals . . . can sense this relatedness better than can the cerebral cortex which now dominates our awareness. If so, when the drugs rearrange the neurohumors that chemically transmit impulses across synapses between neurons, man's consciousness and his submerged, intuitive, ecological awareness might for a spell become interlaced. This is, of course, no more than a hypothesis, but how else are we to account for the extraordinary incidence under the drugs of that kind of insight the keynote of which William James described as "invariably a reconciliation"? "It is as if the opposites of the world, whose contradictoriness and conflict make all our difficulties and troubles, were melted into one and the same genus, but *one of the species*, the nobler and better one, *is itself the genus, and so soaks up and absorbs its opposites into itself*."[8]

Split-brain research now offers an alternative, lateral or horizontal hypothesis to this earlier, vertical one. The right hemisphere, which until the last decade was regarded as a dark continent if not a useless appendage, is now seen to be the seat of the mind's integrating, synthesizing capacities that balance the analytic, linear workings of the left hemisphere. The at-one-ment syndrome James described so well may result in part from the drugs' facilitating a livelier exchange between the two hemispheres.

The other matter that came my way in the seventies arrived in two stages. Already in the sixties, Professor Raymond Prince of the Section of Transcultural Psychiatric Studies at McGill University had argued that infectious diseases and other afflictions such as starvation and exhaustion on long hunting expeditions probably figured more prominently than hallucinogenic plants in opening early man to the supernatural; these afflictions, too, affect brain chemistry in visionary directions and were probably encountered more frequently.[9] The bacteria and other micro-organisms that cause infectious diseases are themselves plants and fungi or closely akin to these; moreover, it is they, not the fever their attacks provoke, that account for the visions, for (a) deliriums may precede temperature rise and follow its return to normal, (b) fevers experimentally produced without infectious organisms do not alter consciousness, and (c) some febrile illnesses occasion deliriums, whereas others do not—smallpox, typhoid, and pneumonia fall into the first category; diphtheria, tetanus, and cholera into the second.

This seemed to me to be an important point. Much attention was given in the sixties to the question of whether our regard for the disclosures of religious experiences should be affected by the discovery that pill-taking can trigger them, but that discussion typically did not go on to ask whether the same considerations pertain when brain chemistry is involuntarily altered by disease. I made this point in the Salzburg Seminar on American Studies in the summer of 1972 where one of the participants was Hilary Jenkins, a biographer of John Henry Newman, and together we concluded that the experiences of Cardinal Newman probably provide an important case in point.[10] In researching his book *Newman's Mediterranean Voyage*,[11] Professor Jenkins discovered that Newman's decisive religious experience occurred in the course of a near-fatal bout with a disease now judged to have been typhoid fever. The experience rooted out a crippling anxiety in which Newman had oscillated between fear of failure on the one hand and an ambitious but daunting desire to put himself forward on the other. It did so by convincing him that God really did have him under his care and had marked him for leadership. He emerged from the experience to become quickly and for the rest of his life a public figure and to write "Lead, Kindly Light," one of Christendom's best-loved hymns. Recounting the experience, he wrote, "At one time I had a most consoling and overpowering thought of God's electing love and seemed to feel I was His. But I believe all my feelings, painful and pleasant, were heightened somewhat by delirium, though they still are from God in the way of Providence."

NOTES

1. Huston Smith, *The Journal of Philosophy* 61(18) October 1, 1964.
2. Huston Smith, *Christianity and Crisis* 27(11) June 26, 1967.
3. How different this is from the context in which the psychedelics were usually ingested in the sixties was brought home to me again through an anecdote Victor Turner presented to a meeting of the Amer-

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can Academy for the Study of Religion. Describing the initiation of a woman into a peyote cult of Central Mexico, he noted that she was required to take a long trek during which myths were unfolded at every state of the journey. When the first peyote button was spotted, it was speared as the budding horn of a great deity; only then could the pilgrims pick and eat. When the woman started to describe her visions she was ordered to stop. "Don't reveal such secrets," she was told. The account appears in Barbara Myerhoff, *Peyote Hunt*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 39-44.

4. R. Gordon Wasson, *Soma: Divine Mushroom of Immortality* (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1969).
5. Huston Smith, Wasson's Soma: A Review Article, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40 (4) December 1972.
6. Huston Smith, *Forgotten Truth: The Primordial Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).
7. "If I were . . . a cat . . . I should belong to this world. I would *be* this world to which I am now opposed by my whole consciousness." Albert Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus* (New York: Vintage, 1955), p. 38.
8. See note 1, p. 528. The quoted material is from William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Modern Library, 1902), p. 379.
9. D. H. Salman and R. H. Prince (eds.), *Do Psychedelics Have Religious Implications?* (Montreal: McGill University, R. M. Bucke Memorial Society, 1967), pp. 1-12.
10. Whether Black Elk does as well, we shall probably never know. His life-empowering vision occurred in the course of a near fatal illness, but its symptoms are not described in enough detail for us to know if the disease was one that affects brain functions in the way psychedelics do. See John Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1932), p. 48.
11. Hilary Jenkins, *Newman's Mediterranean Voyage* (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1974).

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Overseas, Airmail: single issue - $5.00
each additional issue - add $3.00

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